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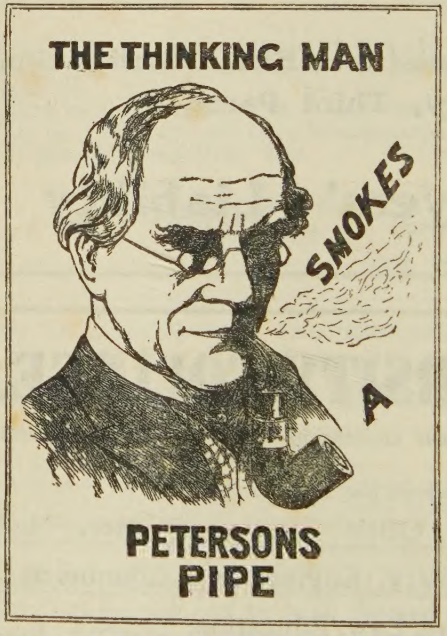

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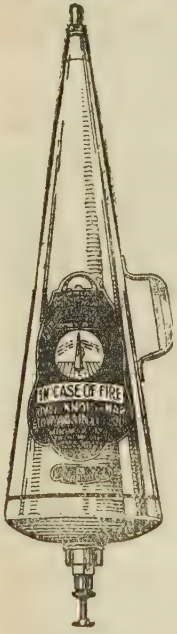

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FRENCH REGIONALISM: THE ANALOGY OF ULSTER

BY DENIS GWYNN.

AMONG the half dozen men in contemporary French public life of whom one may feel sure already that they will rank in history as symbolic figures, the modest professor and poet whom his friends all acclaim as the "Father of French Regionalism, the man who has brought new life into the provinces of France," must unquestionably be counted. M. J. Charles-Brun, who is a fellow of the University of Paris, and a professor both at the Sorbonne and at the Collège des Sciences Sociales, is a man of something over fifty, a devout Catholic, who was personally associated with the Sillon movement, and who has for more than thirty years been inspiring one generation after another, among his students and among the general public in France, with his own vision of a France reconstructed as a combination of provinces and freed from the strangling system of central control that has endured as a legacy since the first years of the Revolution. His classic exposition of the regionalist programme[1] was published in 1910, and contained a survey of the progress that the idea and the movement had made since the middle of the previous century. In an article which he contributed to the *Correspondant* not long after the war, he showed what prodigious strides had been made during the war towards convincing public opinion of the need for

[1] *Le Regionalisme.* By J. Charles-Brun. Bloud et Cie. Paris.

regionalism, as a direct result of the strain imposed by war upon the French political system, and in spite of the fact that all propaganda on behalf of any constitutional reform in France had been necessarily abandoned in the meantime.

> Only yesterday [he wrote] the idea was still confined to debating societies, and was scarcely understood by the mass of the public. To-day not a poster on the walls that proclaims the salvation of France but has some reference to ourselves; not a new League that does not embody us in its programme. M. Viviani, who a year ago declared that the question was extremely complicated and had still to be investigated from the beginning, now asserts that only a policy of economic and social regionalism can save us. M. Briand, who in 1910 was already promising reconstruction on regionalist lines, has once more pledged his support to it. M. Poincaré has been hailed in the Limousin as the leading regionalist in France. M. Clémenceau has done nothing to withdraw his former attacks upon our centralised government, nor his celebrated declaration that his own ideal form of government was a federal scheme.

That the political and economic organisation of France is deplorably over-centralised, is admitted by people of all parties. In a previous article I have shown how the French royalists denounce the Republic as having been the primary cause of the centralised system which Napoleon developed to intolerable perfection, with the object of securing absolute control over all the activities of the country; and how M. Maurras insists that no democratic system of government can do otherwise than intensify this process of centralisation, since its own natural tendency forces it to gather more and more power to itself in self-defence. Republican regionalists, on the other hand, like M. Foncin insist that it was the hereditary monarchs, with their "tribes of legists," who "diverted the natural course of France's political genius," imposing a central government upon a country whose natural development should have lain along federal lines. Such controversies need not concern us here. When all has been said in justification of the centralised system

that the Revolution introduced (and it was this centralised system that gave France her sense of national solidarity at a time when the rest of Europe was still in a state of flux and chaos), the fact remains that an almost unanimous chorus of revolt against its excessive power has for years past been raised in France. In the immense list of names of eminent French politicians and publicists who have strongly advocated drastic measures of decentralisation since the beginning of the present century, every shade of political allegiance is represented—from the royalist reactionaries to extreme radicals like Emile Combes or Professor Aulard. The excessive centralisation of France's system of Government constitutes, in the deliberate opinion of M. Charles-Brun, "what is perhaps the gravest danger in which France has ever been placed."

What is true of France, moreover, is by no means irrelevant in other countries. The analogy is much more close between France and Ireland, which have both preserved their economic and social life very much as it existed through the middle ages, and which have consequently never lost the distinct life of their provinces, than between France and countries like England or America, which have been steam-rolled and stereotyped by modern industrialism. The case against over-centralisation in France applies no less strongly in Ireland; and it applies positively as well as negatively. Not only does excessive centralisation deprive the provinces of full scope for their own distinctive development, it positively saps their energy and gradually kills much of their spirit. Uniformity in administration, to quote Louis Blanc, is simply despotism. "To centralise administration," as M. Charles-Brun puts it, "is to entrust to the State (which in practice means the head offices of the Government departments in Paris) or to submit to its care the particular interests of the communes, of the cantons, of the districts, of the departments." Charles Maurras would insist that this encroachment of state interference

in local affairs is more onerous at the present time than it has ever been in France, but the republicans maintain that things are not quite so bad as they were under the Restoration. But in any case all agree in admitting that there is still an enormous weight to be removed before the country can breathe freely again. "A nation which lacks local institutions," said de Tocqueville, "may give itself a free government, but it can never possess the spirit of liberty."

One dangerous result of this over-centralised system is to make revolutions much too easy. Even at the beginning of the Revolution Arthur Young remarked on how the peasants could give him no answer as to what they intended to do: they said that they must wait and see what Paris decided. And in more recent times history has shown that the peasant and the working man alike regard the decisions of Paris as something beyond their control or comprehension. The attitude of the country districts in France on the eve of the occupation of the Ruhr this spring was, within my own experience, one of blank apprehension—the dread lest mobilisation should be decreed by some mysterious and arbitrary power in Paris. An inevitable result of this dependence upon Paris is the real danger that if Paris is ever taken by an invading army, the country districts lose their power of resistance through having for so long forfeited the use of their own powers of thought or of decision. Apart from these national considerations, the regionalists complain that the central Parliament never has time to deal either adequately or competently with the local questions which it has to settle, and that instead of giving an opportunity for political apprenticeship in local affairs, the centralised system atrophies all the natural talent for public life that exists in each province. At the same time it has made of France, not a democracy but a bureaucracy—with the number of civil servants constantly increasing, as well

as their cost to the taxpayer and their interferences with his liberties. Needless to say, centralisation involves endless complications of red tape, involving an enormous expenditure of labour and time and money, all in sheer loss. As instances of what red tape means in modern France, M. Charles-Brun notes that twenty-four different formalities must be complied with before one may set up a stall on a piece of vacant land—the tax payable for the right amounting to only 35 centimes; and that sixteen different formalities are required to obtain permission to moor a pleasure boat beside a river's bank.

M. Charles-Brun insists upon another evil result of centralised government that is well known in Ireland, when he shows how it demoralises the people by creating a widespread disposition to look to the State for employment in the creation of new jobs. M. Maurice Barrès goes so far as to complain that "we are a people who are sold to our government." The habits of looking for jobs, of always asking permission from State officials, of accepting opinions distributed by proclamation or through the Press from Paris, all weaken the morale of the people, while the drift towards Paris and towards the other great centres of population is rapidly depopulating the countrysides. Similarly in education, a centralised system introduced ridiculous uniformity of method and of programmes in totally different districts, while literature and the arts suffer through the gravitation of all that is most promising to Paris and to the overgrown centres, so that the smaller towns are deprived of their own native talent. In economics likewise, centralisation produces a deplorable weakening of enterprise. The conflicting economic interests of widely dissimilar parts of the country have to be artificially reconciled by legislative compromises, with the result that every interest suffers and no one obtains either real advantage or real relief, because the same decision has to be applied to all parts of the country impartially. A serious practical result of the centralising

tendencies has been the growth of France's railway system into the form of a vast spider web with Paris as its centre, and with no important transverse lines; so that it takes twice as long to travel from Bordeaux to Lyons as it does from Bordeaux to Paris, although the distance is less. In the overgrown towns, again, the small shopkeepers are gradually becoming squeezed out by the unfair competition of the highly organised central stores, and a similar process is leaving the local industries throughout the country deprived of capital, which is all absorbed by the great banks, mobilised by them into Paris, and diverted either into foreign trade or into Paris undertakings. Finally, the regionalists protest that the present system has brought about a direct conflict between Labour, organised on a national basis without regard to local conditions, and the State, which threatens before long to become a chronic menace to economic peace and order.

Such, in bare outline, is the general case against centralised government which has been formulated by a long succession of distinguished public men from Le Play and Proudhon and Comte to Paul Deschanel, and in the present generation, Charles Maurras and Charles-Brun and Jean Hennessy. Simultaneously with this combined and persistent campaign against centralisation there has been a corresponding movement in favour of regionalism, not only as a remedy for the paralysis caused by the Napoleonic system, but as a system supremely desirable in itself. The movement towards decentralisation has grown steadily during the past eighty years. A long series of legislative proposals, nearly all of them completely abortive, have been introduced with the object of loosening the bonds that choke the natural life of the provinces in France. The revolution of 1848 gave a new stimulus to the movement, and produced a new crop of epigrams which have passed into the currency of modern politics. Perhaps the best of them was the famous dictum of Lamennais, that "centralisation means apoplexy at the

centre and paralysis at the extremities." The movement gathered new strength again with the establishment of the Third Republic after the Franco-Prussian war, and one of the first acts of the National Assembly was to appoint a commission on decentralisation. It reached its climax before the war— which compelled the postponement of all constitutional reforms, and which has left the Government still too much occupied with other matters. When M. Briand became Prime Minister in June, 1910, he announced on assuming office that " it is now possible to superimpose on our departmental organisation an organisation of the country by provinces, which shall consist in grouping the departments according to their affinity of interests, and especially in matters of economics. This organisation by provinces must involve the establishment of parliaments which would have to deal with large interests on a scale that is beyond the scope of the departments." M. Briand's fine promises remain unfulfilled, but it is to be noted that even when they were introduced, M. Charles-Brun remarked that " with no desire to be disrespectful, we regionalists remain sceptical as to the value of all these parliamentary proposals."

They have gone on labouring patiently at the bottom instead of at the top, determined to reconstruct the internal organisation of France by first creating the economic, the intellectual, and the political organisations within each province which must sooner or later be in a position to approach the central government as flourishing and thoroughly representative institutions, ready to assume the authority that must be devolved upon them. Their motto, vague though it is in practice, yet serves as a rallying cry. " Let the communes control all that concerns the communes ; let the provinces control what concerns the provinces ; and let the State control what concerns the nation." Such phrases, however, do not explain themselves very clearly. Charles-Brun discards them as being too little explicit, and insists that region-

alism must be regarded less as a complete programme than as a method of political reform. He takes as his starting point "the fundamental truth that different conditions involve different requirements, and different requirements demand different solutions." Yet in practice centralised government in its modern form—and the criticism applies scarcely less forcibly to Ireland than to France—means the enforcement of rigid uniformity throughout the whole range of French life. What is one to say of a system which applies identically the same municipal law to every one of the thirty-eight thousand communes in France, whether they have more than 200,000 inhabitants or whether they have less than twenty? Taine said long ago, before the recent tendency towards the agglomeration of people in modern cities had set in, that France, with its immense system of departments and communes, was like a series of hotels, all built and furnished on the same plan and administered in accordance with the same regulations. As a practical instance of the evil results of such a system, Charles-Brun takes the case of relief for superannuated workers.

In Ireland the case of old age pensions is equally to the point. If the problem is to be solved on a uniform basis all over the country, then the national Parliament has to decide first upon a standard of age that will apply everywhere, and secondly upon a standard scale of relief to be applied to all parts of the country regardless of the wide differences in the purchasing power of money. This example of old age pensions indeed illuminates the whole question. Why should the age limit be fixed, for instance, at sixty-five? It is obviously too young in an agricultural province like Connaught or Munster, but it is too old for the shipyard workers of Belfast or the tramway drivers or the linotype operators of Dublin. What conceivable sense is there in entrusting to one Parliament in Dublin (or in Paris) the task of finding some inevitably unsatisfactory compromise between the

requirements of the different provinces ? It is scarcely more grotesque than the idea of an English Parliament at Westminster insisting upon legislating for Connemara or West Cork. No predominantly agricultural province like Connaught or Munster, if it has maintained a decent Christian tradition of responsibility towards the destitute and the infirm, and especially if it is reasonably well provided with religious orders devoted to the relief of the poor, ought to have any need whatever for a system of old age pensions. Public opinion in any Christian community which is not too large to lose interest in any of its parts should be amply sufficient to secure that the old are not obliged to starve because they are past work. Even if one admits the case of maintaining old age pensions all over Ireland, now that they have been introduced, there is no possible justification for applying the same standard of relief in every district. A uniform rate as between Dublin and Connemara, for instance, is obviously fallacious. The purchasing power of an old age pensioner's shilling in Connemara is probably three times as great, in these special circumstances, as it is in Dublin, apart from the no less obvious consideration that the old people in any peasant community are supported by their neighbours without difficulty, whereas in an industrial town such charity is not only inadequate to support life, but is impossible.

Instances of this kind could be multiplied easily, and they assist towards a comprehension at once of the case against centralised government and of the immediate practical case for regionalism. As part of the general question of decentralisation, they raise the question of what is the natural basic limit of self-government and of what sort of affairs should be entrusted to each unit of the federal organisation. The question has a practical relevance in dealing with Ulster. So far as France is concerned, the regionalists are more or less unanimous in their desire to repudiate the departments altogether as

a unit of political administration. Roughly speaking, the departments in France correspond to the counties in Ireland. They are, however, of much more recent creation, and their artificial character is revealed in the fact that they are all approximately of the same size. They have no traditional claims to the loyalty of their people, like the historic associations of any of the Irish counties. They are indeed such purely artificial divisions of the map of France that it is scarcely an exaggeration which describes them as having been invented by their author, Robert de Hesseln, in the year 1786, as a sort of jig-saw puzzle designed to interest the Dauphin in the geography of his own country. The guiding principle on which they were designed was to divide the whole country into a number of roughly equal parts—their average area being approximately 600,000 hectares. Their legal establishment was the work of the Constituent Assembly, which had to rush through a readymade constitution at top speed, and it is not surprising that their work was clumsily performed. A French regionalist, M. Foncin, has analysed the ninety departments into which the administration of France is divided, to see how far they could be fairly described as corresponding to homogeneous economic and social conditions. He found that thirty at most could be so described, of which six were thoroughly homogeneous, and thirteen mainly so; while the remainder were all more or less chaotic agglomerations. The unit of territory they comprise is in any case too small for administrative efficiency, and they are all equipped with an identical administrative machinery, regardless of their population or their economic interests. Thus, the thinly populated mountainous department of Lozère is provided with exactly the same administrative system as the department of the Nord, with its chain of teeming factory towns, with seventeen times as large a population as Lozère, and with more than fifty times its material wealth. Each department has its prefect and its quota of sub-

prefects (whose abolition has been demanded and promised time after time for years past), and its whole staff of legal and administrative officials.

The absurdity of such a system should be damning enough ; but an examination of the considerations which decided its main features should dispose altogether of its claims to survival. The main explanation for creating the typical department as a unit of administration was the necessity to create centres (in which the prefects have their establishments) at points all over France from which any part of the area under their jurisdiction could be reached within a day's journey at the time of the revolution. In so far as this necessity formerly justified the departmental organisation, railways abolished its justification years ago. Motor transport has removed its last excuse for continuance. Briefly, the case against the departments is that they were created, not to represent existing economic and social institutions, but primarily and deliberately as the means of enabling officers appointed by the State to supervise tracts of territory small enough for one man to keep under observation. This complaint of artificial creation cannot be brought against the Irish counties, but the adoption of the county as a unit of administrative organisation is most decidedly open to objection. The Anglo-Irish Treaty, essentially wrong as it is in its treatment of the Ulster problem, has at least given some sort of statutory sanction to the repudiation of county boundaries as the necessary lines of demarcation between conflicting interests. It may be that the temporary partition of Ulster itself will be but the first step towards a reconstruction of Ireland's political system on provincial lines. Assuming that the principle of national unity is restored—and in this respect the partition scheme will of course sooner or later break down, through the natural attraction of genuinely common interests between north and south—there is no more reason why the boundaries of historic provinces should

be regarded as immovable than the boundaries of historic counties.

That indeed is the most difficult part of the problem that confronts the French regionalists in formulating their programme. Some of the historic provinces of France—Brittany or Provence or Savoy, for instance—have always had clear lines of natural demarcation to divide them from their neighbours. But others, such as Burgundy or Champagne, have undergone so many vicissitudes that their boundaries could not now be reconstructed on historical lines without endless controversy. In any case the most authoritative regionalists, from Le Play onwards, have always insisted that this demand for a restoration of the old provinces on strictly historical lines was merely sentimental and consequently delusive. Charles-Brun admits frankly that there is no sort of agreement as yet upon the precise nature of the provinces that all agree must be created to supersede the existing organisation by departments. An alternative proposal of constituting groups of departments meets with considerable support, but it is open to the obvious objection that most of the departments are quite arbitrary and illogical creations, and consequently cannot form a satisfactory basis for reconstruction.

Assuming that good government and public contentment can best be assured by the creation of provincial parliaments controlling large and homogeneous areas within the whole territory of the nation—and that is the thesis of Charles-Brun, which is now generally accepted as an article of faith by all the leading students of politics in France—then the first essential is to examine the characteristics of each area and to define its limits, not in accordance with traditions which have ceased to correspond to modern facts, but with the actually existing conditions within each part of the country. Regionalism will defeat its own objects, by introducing new causes of friction and irritation, if it is to

consist simply in an application of academic historical theories to modern life. Rightly understood, it is a contribution to modern political science which is capable of solving many acute problems that have arisen out of colonisation and industrial development in many parts of Europe. But its application can only succeed by taking full account of the various conflicts that defy solution on other lines.

The whole case for a provincial solution of the difficulties of Ulster or of Alsace Lorraine or of Silesia, or any of the other disputed areas of the kind, is that they do contain homogeneous populations which demand special consideration for their own needs. But County Donegal has far more in common with County Sligo than it has with County Down ; and if a distinct provincial parliament is to be set up to deal with the characteristic conditions of East Ulster, it is much more rational that Donegal should be excluded from it and amalgamated with a western provincial parliament. The question has never yet been properly examined on its own merits. While the Orange proposals for a separate Parliament were being opposed on national grounds, there was every reason for insisting upon the historical boundaries of Ulster, so long as there was a question of complete exclusion, in order to give a fairer balance between Catholics and Protestants in the whole area, and also with the object of hastening the acceptance by the Northern Parliament of a place in a national settlement. There is nothing to be said in favour of the existing Partition scheme on its own merits ; but there is a very strong case indeed for establishing, within a national scheme, a distinct Parliament with large local powers, for Protestant Ulster. There is a scarcely less strong case for establishing a separate provincial Parliament for Western Ireland, in which Kerry and Clare as well as Donegal might well be included. The essential is to examine the case in relation to actual needs, and not in the light of historical traditions which no longer

correspond to practical conditions. It may well be that the most stable form of government in Ireland would be found by creating three provincial Parliaments—one for the Protestant north-east, one for the whole western seaboard, and a third which would include all Leinster, most of Munster, and the southern fringes of Ulster. A purely sentimental adherence to the historical boundaries of each province would scarcely be worth considering; whereas a complete revision of all the boundaries would make it possible to provide on reasonable lines for the distinct economic and political conditions which are characteristic respectively of the industrial concentration among the Protestants of the north-east, of the primitive peasant conditions of Connacht and the whole mountainous seaboard, and of the fertile agriculture and the prosperous commerce of the rest of the country.

In France the problem is essentially the same. The existing system of enforcing a uniform administration throughout the whole county—alike upon the sophisticated industrial population of the north-east and upon the peasantry of the north-west, with their small holdings and large families, who still live almost entirely on a diet of potatoes and maize—gives satisfaction to no one. Brittany or Provence are prepared to mobilise at any time for the defence of Alsace Lorraine or of the north-east against German invasion, but they protest vehemently against being taxed for the upkeep of needs which they do not share, and against the imposition of anti-clerical and liberal legislation which they detest. They desire to be allowed to manage their own affairs in times of peace, and they will fight all the more valiantly side by side in time of war for national defence if their normal lives are made more contented. To the sceptic's enquiry as to how they propose to reconstruct France on regionalist lines, the regionalists reply that if you only study the modern evolution of economic and social life, you will find provinces more and more clearly defining themselves in

spontaneous organisation. In Ireland a similar process is at work, in the co-operative organisations, in the educational congresses, in the formation of political associations, in religious organisations, in a variety of similar manifestations. When the provinces have thus formed themselves, writes Charles-Brun, the State will have no more to do than to ratify the provinces that have sprung into being. In their formation, historical traditions naturally play a vital part—in Ireland they do so more markedly than in France—but the effect of modern social and economic evolution is to modify profoundly the character and even the boundaries of the old provinces. In some cases they remain virtually unchanged. But whether the modifications are large or small, they must be regarded and provided for in reference to the present and not to history. If historical influences play a very large part in their present composition, the task of providing for their needs is made all the easier.

In an appendix to his volume on Regionalism, Charles-Brun has collected a series of different proposals by eminent regionalists, in which he compares the various suggestions for France's territorial divisions. Nearly all of them are in agreement as to the constitution of certain clearly defined provinces, and the remainder are usually grouped around the same provincial centres in each case, the difference consisting only in the attribution of bordering counties to one or other province. There is considerable divergence as to the number of provinces, but the general scheme scarcely differs, which shows that the regionalist programme is based upon obvious geographical and economic facts. Thus Béchard in 1851 proposed 21 provinces, and Raudot in the same year proposed 25. Comte, in 1854, was in favour of only 17, and Le Play, ten years later, suggested only 13. Fournier de Flaix proposed 19, and Hervé Bazin 24, Lepelletier 27, Foncin 32, Sortais 24, Cordier-Joly 18, Sentupéry 20, Royal 15, Toussaint 27, Barré 15, La Tour-du-Pin and

Sarrieu each 16, Mazel 23, and Vidal de la Blache 17. In the various legislative proposals which have been unsuccessfully introduced into Parliament there is the same divergence as to the number of provinces that should be established, but the same general agreement as to the principal centres of administration. The question of how many of the secondary centres shall be given provincial assemblies is for Parliament to decide, and in any case the number of provinces, like the number of electoral constituencies at present, could always be changed.

Certain main centres do exist in different parts of France which are the natural pivots of all provincial development. It is because they do exist that the regionalist movement not only represents the actual conditions of France's social and economic life, but promises to determine the future evolution of French politics. In England neither the preliminary conditions nor the need for a provincial system are at all so strongly apparent, but in France the whole country falls naturally into a number of essentially distinct and characteristic sections. M. Charles-Brun notes the growing tendency for departments to form groups for common purposes, and he urges the encouragement of this tendency as a sure means of bringing regionalism to accomplishment. Suppose, he says, that two departments agree that in future one shall have a training college for men teachers and the other for women teachers, instead of each supporting two establishments, this in itself is an important step towards regionalism. It is more than probable that the same departments will combine for other purposes also, and that their co-operation will develop into a constant and progressive policy of mutual agreement between a group of adjacent departments which have common interests. The education question is perhaps the most vital of all in the regionalist programme, and its advocates insist upon a complete decentralisation of education in France. Let each province, they declare,

decide its own school programmes in accordance with its own local requirements, and let it have such control over education that it can build up a genuine characteristic culture in each province and so counteract the present gravitation of all local talent towards Paris. Above all, let the universities be emancipated from the dictation of Paris, and let each provincial university be made financially self-supporting and given full power to appoint its own staff and to conduct its own examinations. There are too many universities in France already—the result of a centralised system trying to satisfy the country by sops to local pride. The regionalists would have their number drastically reduced, so as to concentrate all the local energies of each province on one important centre, obviously marked out by its importance in the region which would supply an area large enough to give it a chance of rivalling any other provincial university, and even Paris itself. Charles-Brun attaches very great importance to the role of these universities in his provincial evolution. He looks to them to supply the personnel which will give a due sense of pride, and the leadership in politics and in social questions, that each province demands. He counts upon them for so much because his system depends mainly upon the formation of a definite provincial consciousness, under the inspiration of provincial movements radiating from the natural centres of each province. Once that consciousness has been properly fostered, the establishment of provincial Parliaments will come about almost automatically. There will be and there are already, more and more numerous congresses and commissions formed for the development and the protection of local interests, and once they have come to meet regularly, the State cannot long refuse to devolve large legislative powers upon them. The composition of such provincial assemblies is a question too elaborate to discuss here. Charles-Brun takes, as a good example of how they might be formed, the proposals of M. de Lantivy

for a Parliament of Brittany, which should include representatives of all the great religious, agricultural, industrial, labour and commercial associations, as well as of the professions. Charles-Brun himself would add the senators, deputies, and county councillors of the province to such an assembly.

It is from economic organisation within each province that Charles-Brun hopes for the most rapid evolution towards regionalism in practice. He explains how " the whole of France will then be based throughout upon the three logical elements of the commune, the district and the province. Each of these elements, within its own subordinate sphere, will retain its own proper life, and the authority that is necessary to it. The provinces, each formed around a vigorous centre, will be few enough to withstand the pressure of government from Paris while having a sufficient individuality to develop to the full their own sound intellectual and economic life. The State would be relieved of a multitude of functions which now hamper it, and it also doubtless would itself gain new strength within its own legitimate sphere. Bureaucracy would be curtailed both as a result of the diminution in the number of its territorial divisions and also through the increased vigilance of all parties concerned. Official business would be transacted more promptly and more competently. The spirit of co-operation and of private enterprise would alike be fostered and sustained. There would be variety in place of uniformity, harmony instead of confusion, free growth instead of artificial cultivation. Such, in broad outline, is France as the regionalists would wish to make her."

Denis Gwynn.

THE RISE OF FASCISM AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

FASCISM. By Odon Por. Translated by E. Townshend. (Labour Publishing Co. 1923. 7/6).

MUSSOLINI. The Birth of the New Democracy. By G. M. Godden. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1923. 3/6).

THE FASCIST MOVEMENT IN ITALIAN LIFE. By Dr. P. Gorgolini. Translated and edited by M. D. Petre. (Fisher Unwin. 1923. 10/-).

THE meteoric rise to power of Fascism has left onlookers rather breathless. We have watched bewildered the sudden emergence in Italy of a disciplined army of Black Shirts, their dramatic march on Rome, and the seizing, by Mussolini, with royal approval, of the supreme power in the land. For a twelvemonth we have been curious spectators of Mussolini governing Italy as a Fascist State, in contemptuous disregard of a cowed and discredited parliament. Quite recently again we have been startled by the sudden episode of the ultimatum to Greece with all the dangers to European peace that it involved. And if at the moment there seems a comparative lull in events, it is only that the party is organising that anticipated victory at the polls which their Electoral Law is specially framed to secure.

What is to follow on, who shall say? Tremendous possibilities of success or failure, in the opinion of keen observers, still lie before Il Duce and the forces that till now he has led to victory. The time has come, however, when it is possible to sift out the causes which have pro-

duced in Italy a revolution in government which may prove to be only less far-reaching than that of Russia itself. Already a considerable literature has sprung up around the personality and achievements of the Fascist leader, and from friends and foes alike come appreciations at once of his deeds and his intentions. Thus much light is being thrown on what, a few months ago, appeared one of the most perplexing developments of our after-war conditions. Thanks to these observers, both Italian and foreign, one is able to offer at least a tentative solution of the two main problems that the situation suggests: what were the causes of the rapid success of Fascism and what, in fact, does Fascism stand for to-day?

We may put aside at once as inadequate—and indeed as contrary to the main facts—the explanation of the phenomenon favoured in certain quarters, of which Miss Godden, in her book, has made herself the mouthpiece: that Fascism is a glorious outburst of purest patriotism crushing the disruptive forces of a Lenin-inspired Communism. For her, thanks to the sublime genius of Mussolini—"not a man but a flame"—"Italy, drawn back from the edge of the moral and economic abyss of Leninism, has returned to the principles of Christian civilisation." Curiously enough, other writers draw parallels between the Soviet State and the Fascist State, and it can at least be said with perfect truth that both have been founded on violence and destruction, and both, while professing to offer to the people the free gift of beneficent institutions, still openly avow their belief in a policy of force to compel, where necessary, the adoption of their own conception of the public good. But indeed, comparisons between countries as dissimilar as Russia and Italy are of little value. The deep troubles that have almost engulfed Italy since the Armistice have been in a very special sense her own—we wonder, by the way, if Miss Godden has ever been in Italy? Her book betrays a curious ignorance of Italian characteristics

—and we have to recall the conditions under which the peninsula emerged from the war if we would understand subsequent developments. At the moment it is scarcely from the defenders of and participators in the Fascist triumph—for triumph it emphatically is—or indeed from the organs of defeated Socialism, that any impartial survey of contemporary events is to be expected. Italian political journalism is amazingly bitter, personal and unjust, and generous deductions have to be made—a precaution Miss Godden has persistently neglected—from the heated invective of propaganda-writing from whatever source it may come. The nearest approach to a judicial summing-up of the events in Italy of the last four years that we have seen is that supplied by Mr. Odon Por, a well-known Italian authority on Guild Socialism and Co-operatives, whose strong Guild sympathies put him equally outside Marxist Socialism and an aggressive and militarist dictatorship such as Fascism. Odon Por has asked himself both what lessons should be learned by the political student from the failure of the former and what may reasonably be hoped from the victory of the latter. Hence from a study of his "Fascism," excellently translated by Mrs. Emily Townshend, supplemented by several informing pamphlets issued by the Biblioteca di Studi Sociali (Bologna), it becomes possible to arrive at a fairly coherent understanding of the causes underlying the events that startled all Europe by their unexpectedness.

At no time was Italy really unanimous in her war policy. Socialists of all shades, mainly on broad humanitarian reasons, Giolitti and his parliamentary following, and many Catholics were "non-interventionist," and even when the interventionists had carried the day, and Italy had officially ranged herself with France and England against her former allies, antagonism to the war remained deep and strong in many quarters and tended to divide the nation sharply into two mutually

hostile camps. Had this not been the case, the disaster of Caporetto could scarcely have taken place. This event, by betraying the existence in certain spheres of a spirit of *disfattismo*, served both to emphasise the national cleavage and to give birth to the first active manifestations of a more resolutely national temper. After the Armistice the internal situation grew worse rather than better. War lassitude, the privations and unemployment that many ex-combatants had to endure, and later general disappointment at the actual results achieved in face of the exorbitant hopes raised in Italy, as elsewhere, to keep up the spirit of the nation, all helped to win recruits to the Socialist Party and to promote their victory at the polls in November, 1919, when 156 Socialist Deputies were elected to the Chamber.

The Government throughout these years was singularly weak and ineffective. It neither remedied legitimate grievances nor suppressed disorder; plunged in debt, it yet did not dare reduce expenditure or cut down its over-staffed war-establishments for fear of unpopularity. Prime Ministers came and went, and parliamentary authority dwindled to vanishing point. The sudden emergence of the Partito Popolare, with its 100 new members after the elections of 1919, mainly served at the moment to confuse the parliamentary situation still further. Travellers in Italy in the early post-war period will remember the exasperating irregularity of the postal service, the trains that stopped dead whenever an unpopular personage happened to enter them, the sympathetic strikes for the most trivial causes—the present writer was held up for five days by a railway strike, the outcome of a football riot at Via Reggio, which paralysed the whole railway service from Rome to Genoa. The Government had no courage at all with which to deal with the growing menace to the State of revolutionary Socialism.

Italy was in truth far nearer a revolution than was

generally realised in other countries. The workers believed widely that their hour had come and that when the right moment emerged, for which all were waiting, victory would be theirs. The bourgeoisie, helpless and terrified, feared the worst. The first phase of the movement lasted from the Armistice up to the seizure of the factories in September, 1920. During these two years the Trade Unions, which had already been strongly organised before the war and possessed fine labour halls and well-equipped Institutes in all large industrial centres, enrolled millions of new members. "Every class of workers," says Mr. Por (p. 57), "public servants included, were ready to join the Labour monopoly under a single united control." By degrees the growing movement which until then had proceeded on recognised Trade Union and Co-operative lines doing constructive work of a high economic order, took on a definitely revolutionary and Syndicalist form. Not only were individual industries organised in Unions, but the workers of whole districts were enrolled in a single organisation leading to the formation of regional Soviets. It was this which led in the agrarian provinces to the wholesale seizure of land by the peasants. Some inspiration came undoubtedly from Russia, and the red flag and Soviet emblems were widely displayed, but in the main it seems to have been a spontaneously Italian movement striving to realise ideals of social and economic betterment. Unhappily a great deal of violence was shown to opponents, especially in the towns and communes where the Socialists held office; many bloody affrays took place, ex-combatants suffering in particular, and intense bitterness of feeling was naturally aroused. It is difficult to arrive at a definite estimate of the extent of the Socialist violence, it would seem to have been local and spasmodic rather than deliberately organised, but that shocking incidents occurred there can be no question.

The crisis came with the occupation of the factories.

Over 600 factories and work-shops were seized, involving half a million workers, the employers having declared that is was impossible to carry on production under the new conditions imposed by the Unions. To quote Odon Por once more :—

> "The social revolution was believed to be imminent, not merely by the workers but by all other classes ; from hour to hour everyone waited for the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariate' to be proclaimed. . . . . Instead of this nothing happened. The strike was called off. The workshops were given back to their owners. The Trade Unions accepted the proposal of the Government to bring in a Bill in Parliament which should give to the Trade Unions the means of controlling industry. In face of the enormous difficulty and grave responsibility of continuing the occupation of the workshops, the Trade Unions re-considered the position and renounced the mirage of revolution. Classical Socialism got the upper hand, and the Communists had to give way." (pp. 66-7).

From that moment the danger to Italy of a proletarian revolution had passed away, and what Odon Por calls a national revolution was destined to take its place. Just why Socialism drew back at this crucial moment has excited much interesting speculation. It seems clear that its failure was due to a variety of causes.

There was no real unity of aim within the party, no central authority, but deep disagreement between the moderate and the Communist groups.

There was no strong personality to act as leader ; the ablest men of the party were, as a matter of fact, on the moderate side.

There was grave fear lest England would cut off all supplies of coal and other essential raw materials if Italy "went Bolshevik."

There was no trained force—and here Mussolini learned a lesson—to back up the revolution through its early difficult days. The Socialists had against them both the army and the police, and their own pacifism became a source of weakness.

Socialism, in Dr. Bergamo's opinion,[1] was largely a question of salary; it was mainly economic and lacked idealism to sustain it when evil days came upon it.

Yet for its ultimate defeat and for the overwhelming triumph of its opponents, there was a spiritual reason that cut deeper than any merely material cause: the complete failure of Italian Socialists to reckon on the abiding strength of patriotism as a national sentiment, and it is one of the merits of Odon Por's summary of the situation to have made this clear. "Unfortunately the Socialists would not understand—they never have understood—the tremendous practical value of the sentiment of nationality." (p. 42). Inspired with international ideals and detesting the war, they deliberately made light of the victory and of the sufferings the soldiers had endured. They would admit no idealism in the motives of those who had gone to the front, and they failed to understand that the war had wrought a great change in the mentality of a large section of the population. This was their gravest failing, and this was the supreme opportunity they offered to Fascism.

As is well known, the origins of Fascism go back to the early months of the Great War, when Italy was still neutral and "Fasci" of interventionists were formed to urge the Government to throw in their lot with the Allies and to carry on war propaganda among the masses. After the Armistice, in the early spring of 1919, these same groups developed into the Fasci di Combattimento and later into the Fascist National Party.

Composed at first mainly of ex-service men, the Fasci were from the outset ardently and aggressively nationalist as opposed to internationalist. They believed in National Unity, and they were prepared to realise it at all costs. Hence they proposed to stand out for the fullest fruits of victory, for Dalmatia, for Fiume, for claiming the Adriatic as an Italian sea. They gloried

(1) *Il Fascismo visto de Repubblicani*, 1922 (Bologna).

in the war, they bitterly resented the aspersions and insults cast on the soldiers, they demanded a strong and militarist Italy. Undoubtedly there was real idealism in the movement at the outset, a fresh understanding of the nobility of patriotism, but only too soon the baser elements of violence and hatred and a blind spirit of revenge gained the upperhand. Slowly at first and then with ever quickening velocity, the Fascisti drew into their ranks all who were opposed to the predominant Socialist ideals, all who had suffered at Communist hands, all who feared the industrial revolution. Apart from ex-combatants they attracted a large number of students, brought up in the war atmosphere, and many members of the lower middle class ; but they also attracted big industrialists and large landholders who were ready to furnish them with funds if the war against Socialism was prosecuted with vigour.

From the first it was Benito Mussolini who organised and directed the Fascist bands, and, unlike the Socialists, they had in him an incomparable leader, resolute, vigorous and resourceful, exercising a marvellous ascendancy over his followers. His disciple, Dr. Gorgolini, after many pages of rapturous encomium, sums him up as " a man gifted with extraordinary energy and genius, who has followed his rugged path without asking for sympathy or counsel or help ; a man who is greatly hated and feared, greatly loved and also calumniated " (p. 41). He is clearly possessed, in a high degree, of the intense realism of the Latin races. His participation in the war stirred his smouldering patriotism to a white heat, while his long early connection with Socialism enlightened him as to its weak spots, and above all as to its failure, in Italy at least, to interpret the popular ideals of the moment. Though he likes to pose as a disciple of Mazzini, he is, writes Miss M. D. Petre, in her interesting introduction to the English translation of Dr. Gorgolini's book, more directly akin to Machiavelli, " in his astute

and uncompromising employment of the means that are needful to the end." How uncompromising, Italy has already learnt, and Europe, in her turn, is now beginning to understand.

The rapid rise of Fascism dates from the autumn of 1920. Within two years Mussolini was dictator of Italy, and the " national revolution " was an accomplished fact. The country, in the interval, had passed, very literally, through a period of civil war. Very few details of Fascist terrorism penetrated beyond the Italian frontier. As the victims were reputed to be largely Communists, the capitalist press of Europe assumed that the chastisement inflicted was salutary and the " reprisals " justified. True, we all heard of the castor-oil remedy, but this was accepted indulgently as merely a coarse form of practical joking. The reality, throughout large portions of the peninsula, was something very different. The trained bands of Fascisti, organised on a strict military basis, and containing many ex-service men in their ranks, were let loose, by Mussolini's command, on their Socialist fellow-countrymen. The methods pursued can best be explained to Irish readers by saying they were those of the Black and Tans. Lorries filled with armed Fascisti would concentrate at a given signal on a Socialist municipality, setting fire to Labour Halls and Co-operative Stores, destroying and looting property unhindered. Nowhere did police or army intervene to protect the victims. The first great Fascist success was at Bologna (Oct. 1920), when the powerful Chamber of Labour there was attacked and destroyed; thence the movement spread rapidly North and South, to Emilia, Tuscany and Venezia, and even the main strongholds of Socialism, such as Turin, Modena, Ferrara, Imola and others, fell one after the other, the Socialist administrators being forced to resign. Wherever resistance was offered reprisals " quite disproportionately fierce "[1] were exacted,

(1) Odon Por, p. 110.

and inevitably the weaker brethren made haste to get what protection for themselves they could by adhesion to the Fascist ranks. Many local Fascist bands admittedly acted on their own initiative, and naturally numerous acts of purely private vengeance were indulged in under the cloak of patriotism.

It was by an intensive campaign on these lines throughout two years that the Fascisti conquered Italy; then only came the dramatic march on the capital, when, to quote Odon Por, "Rome fell into their hands like a ripe fruit."

Fascism triumphed then, thanks to able military leadership and to a policy of deliberate violence carried out with method. "I declare that my desire is to govern, if possible, with consent of the majority;" Mussolini said in a recent speech (March 7, 1923), "but, in order to obtain, to foster and to strengthen that consent, I will use all the force at my disposal."[1] Very quickly, however, the movement got largely out of hand, especially in the country districts: it is always easier to excite than to control violence. "By means of Fascism," declares Dr. Bergamo, "a worse spirit of anarchy has penetrated the people than through the preaching of anarchy." But it is not necessary to go to the critics of Fascism to find confirmation of its insubordination. Over and over again Mussolini, with a sagacity that no one can deny him, has protested against useless and vindictive violence—Dr. Gorgolini quotes with approval numerous examples—and has warned his followers of the dangers of their destructive excesses. "The secret of victory," he declares, "lies precisely in moderation." "Violence must be that of intelligent people and not of brutes." And again—"Our one warning is this: if Fascism loses its sense of limitation, it will lose its victory." But these words seem to have fallen largely on deaf ears, and the thorough reconstruction of the Fascist organi-

(1) p. 148.

sation that is in progress as we write, and the uncompromising words of the *Duce* to his rebellious followers at the meetings of the Grand Council in Rome (Oct. 1923), telling them bluntly that they have no greater rights than other citizens, and that he has no use for "super-prefects," are an index to the demoralisation that he has hitherto been unable to curb. For to the Black Shirts of the extremist section, of what use is victory if they are to be denied its fruits—the right to lord it unhindered over their adversaries? What the non-Fascist population has had to endure meanwhile is painful to contemplate, and must surely have postponed for a long period that era of internal peace and concord which, as Mussolini fully realises, is an essential basis for the future prosperity of Italy.

That Fascism is not likely to contribute to external peace Europe has already learnt. The excessive demands laid upon Greece as reparations for the Janina murders and the shocking bombardment of Corfu followed by the deliberate flouting of the League of Nations, have opened the eyes of the smaller nations to the new dangers that threaten them from Rome. Certainly the German population of the Upper Adige has nothing to hope from Mussolini, who has openly announced his intention to Italianise the whole region. Again, the ambition to turn the Adriatic into an Italian lake naturally brings Fascist Italy up against both Jugo-Slavia and Albania, while the aspiration to be the pre-dominant power in the Mediterranean makes cordial relations with both England and France not easy to maintain. Indeed it may be taken for granted that a Fascist Italy is definitely anti-English. Tangier is likely to prove itself yet another bone of discord between the Mediterranean Powers. Perhaps the best that can be hoped is that, when Mussolini feels himself more secure in the saddle, he will show himself a more accommodating neighbour; but for those of us who still believe in a real League of Nations as

the one hope for European civilisation, the aggressive Chauvinism of Italy to-day appears as a dark cloud on the international horizon.

After a year of more absolute power than is enjoyed by any other Minister in Europe, Mussolini has clearly lost nothing of his immense popularity with his own countrymen. As actual achievements he can point to the fact that he has effected very wide economies in public administration and has re-established proper control over all government departments. Moreover he has pleased and re-assured great masses of the population by replacing the crucifix in the schools and restoring religious teaching; not that he is himself a practising Catholic, but he accepts Italy as a traditionally Catholic country and believes that religion is beneficial to the masses. As regards the future we know this much for certain: that he is firmly opposed to State Socialism, *i.e.*, to the nationalisation of railways, land or anything else. Indeed he goes so far as to be opposed on principle to all State monopolies and to every form of government trading. But on the constructive side Mussolini has been far less explicit concerning his home than his foreign policy. He has consistently refused to put forward any specific programme of reforms. "We are a movement," he is reported as saying; "we are not a museum of dogmas and principles." Consequently opinions still differ very widely among Italians as to the ultimate orientation of Fascist policy in regard to the two great problems that have to be faced forthwith: the future of Trade Unionism and the development of agriculture. As regards the former one gathers that the powerful Trade Unions and Co-operatives may come to terms with the Fascists—indeed the amalgamation in many places is already in progress—and may continue their economic work much as before, with, however, the Communist element eliminated, and developing, so Odon Por thinks, into Chartered Corporations. Being himself an enthus-

iastic Guildsman, Odon Por is perhaps unduly keen to rescue Fascism from the accusation of bolstering up Capitalism and to discern promising Guild tendencies in the as yet inchoate policy of the Italian Fascist State. Thus he declares (p. 222) that "it explicitly recognises those Guild forms of proprietorship which are being formed in the Co-operatives of production, run by Labour, and the Consumers' Co-operatives, and it does not fail to recognise that these latter ought to be substituted for other forms of capitalist action wherever they can show better results."

But in discussing, as Odon Por does, in his closing chapter on "New Institutions," the regrouping of Trade Unions and their co-ordination into Corporations with the formation in each locality of "Gruppi di Competenza," it is difficult to gather how much is already in process of accomplishment in this direction and how much is simply the intelligent anticipation of Mussolini's more cultured and scientific supporters. Undoubtedly, if parliamentary prestige, never very high in Italy, fails to recover from the blow dealt to it by Mussolini, some form of vocational councils for the settlement of industrial problems will have to emerge, and it may well be that the Fascist solution of industrial organisation may be as far removed from the methods of our present competitive capitalism as from those of the State Socialism it is out to oppose.

From out of the frothy eloquence of Dr. Gorgolini's chapter on the agrarian problem, one gathers the essential fact that Fascism will actively favour the development of peasant proprietorship and of agricultural Co-operatives. "The land for those who work it" is always a popular cry in agrarian Italy, and the Fascists have used it to some purpose, for from figures recently published (*Daily Herald*, Oct. 25, 1923) it would appear that at least 60 per cent. of the members in the Fascist labour organisations are peasants, while the Socialist Federation of

Land Workers, once 800,000 strong, has practically disappeared. As however the process of giving land to the landless, however desirable, can usually only be accomplished by taking it—somehow—from those who own it, the great landowners of the South are not likely to continue their support of any government that facilitates the breaking up of their estates. Odon Por, indeed, makes it clear that the process of landlord disillusionment has already set in, and that "the less intelligent owners" are refusing to become members of the new Fascist Corporation of Agriculture which is intended to unite all agrarian interests.

Such would appear to be the position in Italy to-day. To prophesy as to the future would be rash indeed. We may all copy with wisdom the extreme caution of the Vatican in its dealings with the new Italian State. Is Mussolini really a great statesman? Or is he merely a singularly astute adventurer? In other words, can his talents and his force of character enable him to triumph permanently over the inherent weakness of a position won for himself by force and violence and illegality? The answer—in spite of all the glamour of the recent anniversary celebrations—still lies in the lap of the gods.

VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

IRELAND IN THE MEDIEVAL LAW COURTS

BY HIS HONOUR JUDGE WILLIAM J. JOHNSTON

IT was in the three centuries that followed the English invasion of Ireland that "the Irish question" in its modern sense was first formulated, and it might not unreasonably be thought that in that period the answer to the question was to be found; but, strange to say, until Mr. Orpen's volumes on "Ireland under the Normans" were given to the public, the Plantagenet period in Ireland was very largely neglected by historians and jurists, and to most people it was a sealed book. Even the publication of Mr. Mills's Calendar of the Judiciary Rolls,[1] which revealed a wealth of material for the historian and the romanticist that is almost unrivalled, did not stimulate to any appreciable extent public curiosity in the medieval life of Anglo-Ireland. The huge rolls of musty parchment which had survived the ravages of the centuries, but which have now gone the way of the other public records in Dublin—the judiciary and plea rolls, the pipe roll of the Exchequer, and the patent and close rolls—contained for him who had the seeing eye and the understanding heart, a picture of life in those far-off times that could not well be equalled. The records were set out in medieval Latin, with contractions requiring a special education for their elucidation and with a phraseology of a most technical character. Each skin of parchment when it had been filled with

[1] Two volumes. (London: Stationery Office, 1905 & 1914). A third volume was in course of preparation at the time of the destruction of the Four Courts.

writing, front and back, was stitched to the skin that immediately preceded it, and in the course of time rolls of manuscript parchment, hundreds of feet in length, were formed. They were kept with as much care as were the records of the Public Departments of to-day, and one might easily have thought that they would survive long after our present records had become part of the dust of the ages.

There were many series of these rolls, each dealing with the details of a particular public department. Thus, the statute rolls were the parchment rolls of the Acts passed by the Great Council—afterwards called the Parliament—and many of them disclosed on a physical inspection, elements of interest, and even importance, which no printed summary or translation would reveal. The Missae and Prestita rolls[1] contain an account of the personal expenditure of the Sovereign, even to what he paid for the mending of his shoes—it is to be observed that they were re-soled and heeled just like anybody else's—and for the dyeing of his robes. But it was the plea rolls—the judicial records of the kingdom—that represented the most fruitful source of information as to the social life of the times. The earliest roll that had survived in Ireland was that of the year 1295, when Edward I was Lord of Ireland and John Wogan was his Justiciar—or, as we would say now, Lord Lieutenant. All the earlier records perished in the fatal fire in Mary's Abbey in Dublin at the end of the thirteenth century.

At that time the Dublin government controlled the whole of Leinster, except Wicklow, where the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles held sway, and the whole of Munster except Clare. In Connaught, Roscommon and isolated portions of the province were within the Dublin sphere of government, whilst the northern clans—the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, the Maguires, the O'Reillys, the M'Mahons and numerous smaller septs—owed only a nominal allegi-

[1] These are in London.

ance to the King. In Ulster, it was really only in south Down and the districts around Carrickfergus and Coleraine where the Anglo-Irish had any real strength.

Society in the anglicised part of the country was based on the feudal model, namely, in the form of a cone, the apex of which was the King, who was represented in Ireland by the Chief Justiciar. Owing allegiance to him, in respect of the huge tracts of territory—in some instances whole provinces—which had been feudally granted to them by the King, were the great lords, including the Clares, the FitzGeralds, the house of Pembroke, the de Courcys, the de Lacys and others. Then came the lesser barons and knights, and the lowest stratum of all were the betaghs, who corresponded with the class in England called villeins and who, I rather fancy, were for the most part native Irish who, voluntarily or involuntarily, had entered the service of the English feudatories. The Irish, except those who were in the service of the Anglo-Irish nobles and knights, or who had acquired letters of denization from the Justiciar, were, for all practical purposes, outlaws.

In a case in County Waterford in 1307, one Geoffrey Brown was charged with having slain John Stakepol, an Englishman, twelve years previously. Brown had taken sanctuary in a church, but afterwards he had gone to his father's house. The slaying of Stakepol was admitted, with engaging frankness; but it was pleaded that as he was an Irishman—or, as the plea roll puts it, an *Hibernicus*, named Oglassewan, from Admethan in County Waterford—Brown could not be convicted for having slain him. The jury and the Court found that the facts were as pleaded, and Brown was acquitted. On the other hand, it was an offence to beat or rob an Hibernicus who was in the service of an Englishman, and it was further decided in a Drogheda case that an Hibernicus who was the burgess of a city or town could hold land and own chattels, and was even entitled to

the benefit of the common law. In another case, we see William Grane complaining, with intense indignation, in the Justiciar's court at Carlow, that Alan, son of Walter and Cristiana his wife, had defamed him by calling him Hibernicus. He was awarded damages.

In process of time, however, the various septs were admitted, one by one, to what was called the King's peace, and by the time of Henry VIII everyone in Ireland enjoyed, in theory at any rate, the benefits of the common law.

The background of the highly-coloured picture which the plea rolls reveal to us, can be very easily filled in. In the Anglo-Irish territory one sees a state of affairs which corresponded, more or less, to feudal England, with this important distinction (which, eventually, was to have far-reaching consequences) that the lowest stratum of society, instead of being, as in England, of the same race as the ruling class, was of a different race and even of a different religion. It is an entire mistake to suppose that the religious difficulty in Ireland arose only at the time of Henry VIII. For centuries before that period there were religious bickerings of a most pronounced and bitter character between the English and the Irish clergy, and the Bishop of at least one diocese—certainly that of Derry—never at any time submitted to the feudal suzerainty of the King.

In Connaught and Ulster the coming of the English made very little difference for some hundreds of years. There were constant wars between the clans, with occasional incursions into the anglicised territory, which the old records referred to as " the land of peace." During those years the Irish annals—those of Innisfallen, of Ulster and of the Four Masters—tell a melancholy story of turbulence and unrest upon which it is not desirable to dwell.

No more unlikely place could possibly be imagined in which to look for romance or humour, love or hate,

than those huge cylindrical masses of musty parchment which were to be seen at the Four Courts in Dublin. Take the case, for instance, of the casks of flour which was investigated at the Capital in 1299,[1] and compare the facts revealed in that case with the methods by which army contractors made fortunes in later days. In that year Edward I, who was at war with Scotland, requested the good citizens of Trim to supply him with flour for the army. One Adam de Bromp was the clerk deputed by the King to survey the provisions and convey them to England. The plea roll then sets out that when the casks, presumably filled with flour, were carried to Drogheda, Adam, desiring to mend one which showed signs of wear and tear, proceeded to examine it carefully and found that the flour packed at the top and bottom of the cask was reasonably good, but that in the middle . . . . . At this stage the record becomes undecipherable, fortunately or unfortunately for the good name of the town of Trim, and the question of what was contained in the middle of those flour casks will remain one of the great unsolved mysteries of history and literature. But it calls for a considerable exercise of faith to believe that the people of Trim had acted honestly in the matter.

It would appear that the King was frequently unfortunate in the matter of his commissariat. An inquiry took place some years later as regards a cargo of wine which had been shipped by a Dublin boat from Bordeaux. The cargo was transhipped into another vessel at Dalkey (which was the great shipping port for Dublin at the time), and when it arrived at Skynburnesse, it was found that the wine had gone bad. In proceedings by the King against the vendors, twelve honest merchants of the city of Dublin found that, "by the wildness of the sea, the ship was cast hither and thither," and that this untoward incident was the sole cause of the deterioration of the wine. In a subsequent case Geoffrey de Morton

[1] Heard at Dublin before John Wogan, on June 21, 1299.

was prosecuted, at the suit of the King, for an attempted fraud upon the customs. Geoffrey had had a ship consigned to Dublin with twenty tuns of wine, of which thirteen were discharged at Dalkey; customs duty was paid only on the remaining seven tuns, at a place in Dublin City called Carnan, which I have not been able to identify. Geoffrey was charged with having taken the wine out of the ship at Dalkey for the purpose of defrauding the King of the proper customs duty; but another jury—twelve equally good men and true of the same city—brought in a verdict that no great ship could land at the Dublin port at that time until it had been lightened, that it had been the immemorial custom for such ships, laden with wine and other articles, to unload partly at Dalkey, and that prise or duty was not taken in respect of the wine so unladen.

Within a hundred years after the English conquest, a large number of prosperous towns had sprung up in Ireland, which added greatly to the stability of the kingdom. They were the centres of growing enlightenment, and it was the burgesses of those places who struck the first blow in the cause of freedom and political rights. They were constituted, as a rule, under charter granted either by the King or by the great feudal lords who, as an inducement to merchants and others to settle in their towns, gave up many of those harsh exactions by which the villeins and small feudal tenants were oppressed.

A curious case, which is important as marking the beginning of what is called now-a-days private bill legislation, occurred in 1306. The burgesses of Drogheda (on the Louth side)[1] had presented a petition to the King asking that they should be empowered to construct a quay on the river Boyne next to the close of the Friars Minor, and to build a stone tower on the quay wall for

[1] In the thirteenth century Drogheda appears to have been a much more important trading centre and probably had a larger population than Dublin. There were two cities, one on the north and one on the south side of the Boyne.

the security of the town. The king directed an inquisition to be held before the Justiciar and a jury as to whether the construction of such works would be to the damage of the King or any other person—not unlike the inquiry before a Private Bill Committee—and the jury found that the erection of a quay and a tower at the place in question would be to the advantage of the King in the greater security of the river and the town in time of war, but that it would be to the disadvantage of the Friars Minor whose quiet, said the jurors naively, would be broken in upon by the sailors who would foregather on the quay. The only record that I can find of what was done in the matter is a writ of Edward I of the next year giving the burgesses permission to enclose the town with a wall and to erect a tower. There is, however, no reference to a quay; and we may assume that the good Friars were left in peace and that their quiet was not disturbed.

The human element was as much in evidence in municipal affairs in Dublin in 1306 as it is in 1923. The case of *The City of Dublin v. Geoffrey de Morton*[1] which came before the Justiciar in that year is a case in point. Geoffrey, who had been Mayor of Dublin, was, we are told, about to set sail for England without having delivered up on the expiry of his term of office the common seal of the city. Reading between the lines, one would gather that he was not at the time on good terms with the burgesses and that he wished to make certain representations to the King concerning the city. John le Sergeaunt, the new Mayor, demanded the seal from him, but he set sail without having given it up. The citizens then, desiring to counter Geoffrey's move, decided to send letters to the King, setting out their side of the case; and they demanded the seal from Matilda, Geoffrey's wife. She, good lady, with a zeal for her husband's

[1] Common Pleas at Dublin in the Quinzaine of St. Martin (November 25), 1306.

interests which is beyond all praise, informed the new Mayor (falsely, alas!) that she had not got the seal.

After considerable delay the citizens decided to seal the letters with their own private seals; but then a new difficulty arose. Roger de Assheburn, who had agreed, in the first instance, to take the letters to England for twenty marks, now raised his terms (one wonders had Geoffrey's wife anything to do with the matter) and demanded fifty, which the citizens after many angry protests were obliged to pay. But in the meantime Geoffrey had had a good start and doubtless profited by it. Subsequently the seal was returned to the city fathers, with its three locks intact, exactly as it had been delivered to Geoffrey. In an action by the citizens against him to recover thirty marks, representing the difference between the twenty that Roger had agreed to take and fifty that they had had to pay him, another jury, with a decided leaning to mercy's side, found that the seal had not been detained by the lady either by the will or under the direction of her husband and that he, therefore, was not responsible for anything that she had done. The conduct of the lady and her husband as well as the verdict of the jury raise some nice questions of ethics that need not be discussed now.

The church, of course, played an important part in the litigation of the country in those early days, and requires to be noticed. The Bishops, Abbots and Priors owed allegiance to the King in respect of their temporalities, and they had the full status of great feudal lords, owning in many instances huge tracts of land and having the right to hold Courts Christian for the trial of all sorts of questions apart from their ordinary jurisdiction as to matrimonial and testamentary matters. Most of the Abbots and Priors had the right with the Bishops of attending Parliament as spiritual peers until the reign of Henry VIII. I have no desire to stir up ancient scandals, especially as most of the prelates, monks

and clergy seem to have been good and holy men. But there were many fierce controversies in the monasteries at this time, controversies which, in some instances at any rate, had their root in the political differences between the English and the Irish monks. Take the case, for instance, of the conflict in the monastery of Monasternenagh in County Limerick. The Abbot, an Irishman, refused to admit any English monk to the monastery and forbade the use of the English language therein. He was charged also with having alienated large portions of the lands and goods of the abbey. The King directed the Sheriff of Limerick to seize all the lands that had been so alienated and retain them until the Justiciar had an opportunity of holding an inquiry. The case of the Abbey of Holy Cross in Tipperary throws light on many matters of social importance. This Abbey also was one in which all the monks were of the Irish race, although they held large tracts of land from the King. The Abbot appears to have got heavily into debt; "to raise the wind" he let, from time to time, portions of the Abbey lands to tenants for terms of years at a rent, without having received the Crown licence to do so. In proceedings at the suit of the King, all these tenants were ejected; the lands were handed over to the custodianship of another Abbey; and the Abbot of Mellifont, as visitor, was ordered to place monks of the English race in the Abbey of Holy Cross whenever vacancies should arise, until one half of the house should be English and one half Irish. The reason for taking this course is set out in the record thus:—

"Because such dispersion and loss [of land] was made by said Irish monks, as commonly happens in every place where houses are placed under their rule."

The case is a most valuable one from many points of view. First of all, it proves that leasehold interests in lands were in the thirteenth century a common form

of land tenure. Secondly, it discloses the fact that feeling was already very bitter between the two races within one hundred years after the conquest. Thirdly, it reveals the interesting fact that even then the English were making charges of shiftlessness against the native Irish.

The administration and principles of the criminal law entered very largely into the lives of the people. Life was very cheap in those days, and robbery and violence were almost matters of course. The barbarous method of trial by ordeal of fire and water had entirely disappeared, the Church having condemned it in the reign of John; but trial by combat—the wager of battle, as it was called—was still resorted to. This mode of trial, a relic of the times when private revenge—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—was the ordinary way of seeking reparation for wrongs, represented the early effort of the State to legalise or regularise the procedure.

Trial by combat was not abolished, strange to say, till 1837. In that year a man named Ashton was indicted for the murder of his sweetheart. The jury—apparently quite wrongly—found him not guilty, and he was acquitted. The deceased girl's brother then took proceedings by the ancient procedure of appeal of murder against Ashton—a form of procedure which had been totally forgotten for six hundred years, but which had never been technically repealed. Ashton's counsel, to the astonishment of the judge, the jurors and even the prisoner himself, boldly put forward the claim to have a trial by combat—a wager of battle. Ancient precedents were hastily looked into, and it was decided by the full court that the prisoner's counsel was right. In the result, the prisoner was discharged and an Act of Parliament was passed, post haste, abolishing this relic of antiquity.

The larceny of any article of the value of one shilling or more was a crime punishable by death; but it is noticeable that, even in the year 1300, juries were begin-

ing to be impressed by the barbarous harshness of this law. Occasionally they evaded it by finding, in defiance of the facts, that the article stolen was worth something less than one shilling. Here is a translation of the record of the Waterford assizes, held at Dungarvan before Thomas Fitzmaurice, the Justiciar, on May 7, 1295. It gives a good idea of the short sharp methods of the time :—

"Nicholas, the baker of Athmethan, charged that he is a burglar and stole from Jordan de Exeter malt and oats to value of 4s. Puts himself on the country, which say he is guilty. Hung. No chattels.

"Alice, daughter of Geoffrey le Lunt, charged with stealing from her father ½ mark and from Richard the White a coat value 12d. and from John Pollard 12d. Guilty. Hung. No chattels.

"John Martyn taken in possession of two goats which he had stolen from John Cor, says that he did it from hunger alone. Jury find that he did it from hunger and is not accustomed to do evil. Asked what the goats were worth, they say 11d. Therefore for the soul of the King he is quit."

Although the records of the medieval courts are not the most likely places in which to seek for romance, the subject of love and marriage—the seamy side, it is true—came frequently before them. What is to be thought, for instance, of the sad story of Alice Lowys, which was to be found set out in crabbed Latin on the forty-fifth membrane of the plea rolls of the year 1303 ? Thomas, son of Milo Lowys, had bound himself by a solemn deed, duly sealed and delivered, to marry this girl ; but, like so many men before and since, he broke his plighted troth, and Alice's father was obliged to bring him to book at the Clonmel assizes before John Wogan, the Justiciar. The scoundrel's defence—in the so-called days of chivalry, be it remembered—was that he was only eighteen at the time when he made the promise and that, therefore, his solemn deed was not binding upon him.

Alice's father, however, had still a shot in his locker. He pointed out that Thomas was a burgess—of the town

of Clonmel, it is to be supposed—and that, by the law merchant, burgesses and the sons of burgesses could bind themselves by contract on the completion of fourteen years of age. An ingenious argument! But John Wogan, the Justiciar, decided—and this, it seems to me, is the only touch of sentiment in the whole case—that a promise of marriage was something sacred and very different from a mere contract to buy a side of bacon or a daker of hides, and that the law merchant did not apply to it. Accordingly, the suit was dismissed, and Alice was left lamenting.

Cases of this kind could be multiplied almost indefinitely, but it is better not to dwell too long on such a painful topic. The sad case of Juliana Colle, however, has points of interest. It also came before Wogan and was heard at Cork in 1307, disclosing facts of a somewhat different character but pointing the same moral. Juliana had married one Walter Reyth, from whom she had been divorced. She had brought with her on her marriage a substantial dowry, which Walter refused to return. The case is mentioned chiefly for the purpose of setting out the dowry of a lady of position in the fourteenth century. It consisted of fourteen cows, one tun of wine, fifty-two porks, five crannocs of haste, one crannoc of malt of wheat, on crannoc of malt of oats, one cloth, one towel, two ells of cloth, one horse and thirty-three shillings and fourpence in silver. The lady recovered judgment for the sum of £11 7s. 4d., which she subsequently had great trouble in realising; and that is all that is known of the love story of Juliana Colle.

What we would call mixed marriages became so common in the reign of Edward III, that the Irish parliament, by the celebrated statutes of Kilkenny, absolutely forbade all marriages between the Irish and the English; but this law was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Indeed, all the efforts of Parliament to keep the two races apart during the

middle centuries appear to have been unavailing. The native Irish had great powers of assimilation; and it is quite true that, down to Reformation times at any rate, the Anglo-Irish in two generations became more Irish than the Irish themselves. We see this process of assimilation going on before our eyes in the plea rolls and I may mention one case, which is typical of many others—the case of Isabella Cadel.

Isabella was the daughter of one William Cadel, an English knight residing in Carlow or Kildare. He appears to have been a quarrelsome fellow, involved for many years in a succession of brawls and rows. His daughter, who lived with one Dermot O'Dempsey, appears to have been employed as a spy, acting as an intermediary between O'Dempsey and the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes of the mountains. She and her maid, Fynewell Swaine, were arrested by the serjeant of County Kildare on one of their trips to the mountains and were charged with complicity with the O'Tooles. However, when the case came before the Justiciar, he pardoned both women, partly on account of the good services of Isabella's father in the past and partly, as the plea roll puts it, "because of the simplicity of the women."

There can be no doubt that these age-old lawsuits, recording long-forgotten feuds, would have given many hints and much assistance to the statesmen who have had to grapple with Irish problems throughout the centuries. Sir John Davies, the Irish Attorney-General in 1603, was probably the only English statesman who studied the Irish records with care;[1] and it is a remarkable fact that the achievement which stands to his name—the plantation of Ulster—was, apart from the question of the ethics of the scheme, the most successful political experiment that ever was tried in Ireland. These ancient cases are the outward visible sign of the growth of national sentiment in the country, and the solution of the Irish

[1] See "Historical Tracts by Sir John Davies." London 1786.

mystery, whether it is approached from the Irish or the English point of view, is obviously to be found in a correct appreciation of that growth. What better way, for example, could be devised for plucking out the heart of the land problem—that ancient quarrel as to the ownership and occupation of land in Ireland—than by studying the land litigation of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? And yet, how few have thought of drawing from this tremendous fount of knowledge? It is unnecessary to do more than refer briefly to one of the earlier of these cases, which may be called the feud of the Brandwoods and the Savages, and which gives a remarkably comprehensive picture of farming life in Ireland in the thirteenth century.

Geoffrey de Brandwood, it appears, had an out-farm which was in the charge of a Hibernicus called Geffrey McWyther, who, according to the usual custom in vogue, was allowed to keep cattle and other property on his master's farm, and probably was allowed also to cultivate a portion of it. Although the status of the Hibernicus was that of villein or serf, he had a number of servants of his own. His actual material condition, therefore, was comfortable and prosperous enough. In the summer of 1306 Brandwood sent a message to McWyther, stating that he wanted his help or that of some members of his family to gather in the harvest on the home farm. McWyther refused to go, on the ground that he was already overworked. "I and my household," he said, "have so much labour in the service of Geoffrey de Brandwood, our lord, in divers his works and labours, that I cannot bear this more, nor will bear it henceforth."

Geoffrey's messenger, however, took away with him a maid-servant of McWyther and a sickle, and returned to Brandwood with this defiant message. McWyther, thinking that he might be as well killed for a sheep as a lamb, made up his mind that he would leave Brandwood altogether. Accordingly, gathering his effects together,

he drove away not only his own but Brandwood's cattle to the land of Geoffrey Savage, a neighbouring lord who, as we are told, "did not love Geoffrey de Brandwood and his people." Brandwood came to Savage, demanding his cattle; and an affray took place in the course of which one of Brandwood's men drew his sword. He was prosecuted for having committed a breach of the peace and was imprisoned. As usual, the story breaks off just as the *dénouement* is about to be reached, and there is no record of what became of McWyther or what was the subsequent relationship between the Brandwoods and the Savages; but we may assume that it was not good.

With the wealth of material in the plea rolls, it would be possible to build up an absolutely complete picture of the social life of the Anglo-Irish and the Irish in medieval times. It is, however, not possible to do more than indicate briefly a number of incidents or episodes that became the subject of litigation in one way and another. Thus, one can realise without much trouble the sorrow in the house of Barth when his child Elena fell into a pot of hot malt and was scalded to death; and one can understand the local indignation in Kerry against Richard de Cantelupe—a thorough scoundrel, if there ever was one—who allowed his pigs to eat a child reputed to be his own son and who did not deliver up the pigs subsequently to the coroner, as by law he ought to have done, but retained them—for what purpose one shudders to think. In these dog-eared old parchments, indited by some ancient clerk with probably as much sentiment in his composition as there is in a bundle of red tape, we could see little Maurice greasing the wheel of his father's corn-mill and the sleeve of his coat catching in the cogs of the wheel, by which he was dragged in amongst the machinery and killed; we see Adam Scott sitting in a tavern eating oysters and throwing the shells over his shoulder as he ate. One of the shells, striking a wall

and rebounding, hits Maurice de India in the eye and puts it out. Maurice invokes the majesty of the law. We see Felicia, the daughter of John, sitting drinking in a tavern in the town of Tomhaggard in Wexford, and John le Foulerd riding into the place on horseback and deliberately trampling the poor lady to the ground. We see Henry Heyne, on Sunday the feast of St. Peter ad vincula—the better the day, the better the deed—coming into the town of Carrick McGryffin and, like the heartless scoundrel he was, slaying with his spear two sows belonging to Thomas le Clerk, thereby leaving on Thomas's hands ten little sucking pigs, motherless and desolate. The record mercifully draws a veil over the rest of the sad story. We see Patrick de Alta Ripa sending his son Maurice to gaol for a trivial theft "lest he should commit worse crimes." We see George de Roche being committed for contempt in shouting opprobrious remarks in the assize court at Cashel and subsequently being pardoned by the Justiciar because (as the plea roll quaintly puts it) "George had drunk two or three cups more than usual of the best white wine with the judge in his lodgings" the night before. We see these and hundreds of other pictures of the daily life of the people—some tragic, some ludicrous, some horrible, some farcical, but all well worthy of the careful attention of the historian.

There is one remaining topic that requires to be noticed, and that is the question of the conveyance of land and the succession to property, which were matters of extreme difficulty in the days before the invention of paper, when only one person in a thousand was able to write his own name and when none of the dozen systems of registration for the recording of names, dates and facts that exist to-day were in operation. Take the case of Mary and Mabilla the co-heiresses of Philip de Ridelford of Kynnegh in County Kildare, whose lands had been taken into the King's hands as their feudal superior

until they should come of age. In proceedings taken by them in 1305 against the King to establish the fact that they had reached full age, William Wydon swore that Mary was born on the day when Art M'Murrough was slain and that it was known in the whole country that twenty-three years had passed since that had happened. He stated also that Mabilla was younger than Mary by two years and a quarter. Richard Caprick testified that Mary was four years old when he bought a horse from Henry de Ridelsford, Philip, Mary's father, being the surety in the transaction. He kept the horse for six years and then sold it, and with the price he built for himself a stone house in which he had been living for fourteen years. There were other witnesses who told equally roundabout stories. But it was not until 630 years later that it occurred to anyone in authority that a registry of births would be of public advantage.

The case of *John, son of Henry* v. *David, son of Henry* appeals equally to the lawyer and to the romanticist, and may be regarded either as a leading case in the history of the law of real property or as the basis of a historical romance of poignant human interest. It is concerned with the right of one David, the illegitimate son of Henry, to certain lands in Islandikane in County Waterford. Henry, after the death of his first wife, Mabilla Aylward, desired to marry Oliva, but was forbidden to do so by the Church, as Mabilla and Oliva were cousins in the third degree. The Bishop of Waterford refused to allow them to live in his diocese; so the two went away to the wilds of Connaught, where they became man and wife by mutual consent and lived happy ever after, as we have every reason to believe.[1] David was the fruit of that union. When the old man was at the point of death, he decided to make provision for this boy, knowing that if he died without doing so, John, his son by Mabilla his first wife, would swoop down and take everything. At that time

[1] 2 Mills's Calendar, pp. 112, 139, 277.

the ordinary method of conveying land in fee was by livery of seisin, and accordingly the following touching ceremony took place at Henry's house where the old man was lying very sick :—

"Henry, weak in body yet sound in mind, said that he wished to enfeoff David, his son begotten of the said Oliva, of these tenements. And he caused himself to be carried to the door of the house, saying, 'Son, I give to thee the whole of this tenement, with all my chattels in it'; giving to him the hasp of the door, about the first hour of the day. And when he was being carried near the church which is situate on that land, and his friends wished to carry him thither, he forbade them to do so, lest he might impede the seisin of his son, but enjoined them to carry him to the house of a neighbour; and this being done, he died on the morrow at the third hour of the day."

The refusal of the old man to allow his friends to carry him into the church lest by that act he should impair the possession (seisin) which he had given over to his son is a remarkable tribute to his knowledge of the technicalities of the law as well as to his firmness of purpose in the face of death. He knew well the character of his eldest son, because in certain proceedings taken on behalf of the King to determine the ownership of the land, John raised the point that the delivery of possession to David was not complete, seeing that Henry's whole household had remained in the house from the time of the gift until the old man's death without having made any submission to David. It would appear that this contention had in the first instance a measure of success; but a year later we find David testing the question by an assize of Novel disseisin which came before the Justiciar at Waterford. As usual the records fail us at the interesting point. Doubtless the law sided with John, the legitimate son, and I am sure that all its technicalities were invoked on his behalf. But sometimes virtue is triumphant, even when it is personified in an illegitimate son, and let us hope it was so in this case.

W. J. Johnston.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF SOCIALISM

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

SOCIALISM is a world-wide movement, and it would be a very unsatisfactory survey of its recent developments if one were confined to a particular country. Socialism in different countries has different characteristics, but what happens in one place has reactions elsewhere. The Bolshevist adventure of Russia, for instance, has had very important results on Socialist movements in all other countries, though the results have been of conflicting kinds, and it is difficult even yet to say what the final outcome will be. Socialism is the movement of revolt which has always appeared where Capitalism has been established. On its constructive side it takes the form of a demand for common ownership in place of private ownership of property. The two big questions which have ever divided Socialists have been with regard to the way of establishing common ownership and the form that common ownership should take. We can best understand the history of Socialism in recent years by examining its developments in regard to these two cardinal questions.

First with regard to the way of getting Socialism. Long before the war there was the difference between revolutionary and evolutionary Socialists, the one believing, like Marx, that for the transition from Capitalism to Socialism there must be a contest of violence between the proletariate and the armed forces of Capitalism; the other, like Mr. Sidney Webb, believing that the workers could peacefully obtain political power and

introduce Socialism by easy stages, the capitalists submitting to their expropriation because they would be compassionately compensated, and also because with the forces of government against them, they would see that resistance was impossible.

This question of whether Socialism must be achieved peaceably or violently, by constitutional means or by a class revolution is the whole issue which divides Communists from other Socialists. Before the war there was no Communist Party, so-called, in Great Britain. The Communist Movement is now of considerable importance. What is the difference between Communism and Socialism ? It is often said in the text-books that Communism wants to socialise all property while Socialism only deals with the means of production. This is not the difference. " Communism to-day," say Eden and Cedar Paul, who are accredited to speak for the Communist Party, " signifies an organised attempt to overthrow the existing social order and to replace it by a better." (1) They proceed to say that underlying this attempt are five main convictions. The first three need not be quoted : the fourth is that the change must be *revolutionary*, that it will involve the seizure of power by unconstitutional means, that it will necessitate the forcible suppression of the counter-revolution. The fifth is that the overthrow of Capitalism *must be world-wide*, that local revolutions will not suffice, that Communism can be achieved in no other way than through realising the programme of World Revolution.

Although Communists differ from other Socialists in believing in the necessity of a forcible overthrow of the Capitalist classes, this does not mean that all the other Socialists are of one mind. Some of the Socialists who oppose Communism and uphold constitutionalism have no objection in principle to cutting capitalists' throats. They would applaud a bloody revolution, if

(1) *Communism*, by E. and C. Paul. (The Labour Publishing Co., 1921).

only they were sure that they would be on the winning side. But they are rather afraid of being beaten by the section of the Army and Navy that failed to come over to the revolutionary ranks, and so they advocate the conquest of political power first, meaning that they should get a Socialist Government elected. That Government would then have the Army and Navy to do its bidding, and it would proceed to expropriate the capitalists without too much personal risk to proletarian skins. There is Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., for example, who has occupied the highest position in the Independent Labour Party which claims to be very pacifist and evolutionary. Mr. Wallhead held a public debate with a Communist in which he was at pains to declare that he had no moral objection to the most violent proposals of the Communists. He only thought that as a matter of expediency it was better to eliminate the capitalists after the Army and Navy had been got to the Socialist side!

There are many people like Mr. Wallhead among the evolutionary Socialists, but there are others who oppose revolutionism not only because it is too risky but because they believe, as Mr. Sidney Webb said in his presidential address to the Labour Party Conference,[1] that violence might destroy but it would never construct. The Fabians have been the convinced opponents of revolution. Mr. Bernard Shaw commented on Marx's saying, that force is the midwife of progress, by observing that force is equally the midwife of chaos and chaos is the midwife of martial law. We have seen a great controversy during the last few years between Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Socialists as to whether Socialism is to be achieved by a class uprising of the proletariate or by a series of peaceful reforms in which members of different classes will co-operate with the wage-earners. This controversy is a very old one, as may be shown by quoting from a book

(1) In London, June 26, 1923.

by Karl Kautsky, the leading German exponent of Socialism, written years before the war. He said :—

"To-day Socialism has become fashionable with the drawing-rooms. It requires no particular energy, no break with the bourgeois society for anyone to call himself a Socialist. No wonder that an ever-growing number of new Socialists remain stuck in the traditional modes of thinking and feeling of their class. But the methods of warfare of the Intellectuals are different from those of the proletariate. The latter can only bring against wealth and the force of arms its superior numbers and the solidarity of its class organisations. The Intellectuals, on the other hand, are insignificant in numbers and without class organisation. Their only weapon is that of persuasion by word of mouth and by pen ; they fight with 'intellectual weapons' and 'moral superiority,' and with these weapons the drawing-room Socialists would also wish to decide the proletarian class war. They declare themselves ready to lend the proletariate their moral support, but on condition that it gives up all idea of using force, and that not only where it has no prospect of success—there even the proletariate gives it up—but even where it has. Hence they try to bring into discredit the idea of revolution, and to represent it as a worthless method. They endeavour to detach from the revolutionary proletariate a social reform wing, and help thereby to divide and weaken it. This, so far, has been the sole result of the commencing conversion of the Intellectuals to Socialism." (1)

What Kautsky says of pre-war Socialism in Germany is almost exactly what the Communist Party is saying of Socialism in Great Britain to-day. From the beginning of the present century until the outbreak of the war political Socialism had been making extraordinary progress in the leading countries, Germany, France, Belgium and Great Britain, but it was making progress precisely because it was compromising itself, because it was becoming reformist instead of revolutionary. Socialists when they got into power, and as a means of getting into power, thinned down their Socialism until it became very anaemic indeed. In disgust at the failure of political Socialists to bring about any radical change,

(1) Quoted in *Modern Socialism*, by R. C. K. Ensor.

or even the prospect of a radical change, the more militant spirits in the Socialist movement began to disbelieve entirely in political action and parliamentary methods. The gospel of Direct Action was preached, which meant that the workers must themselves, and not through representatives, smash up the existing order and assume the control of industry, acting directly as workers and not through the machinery of the State.

There was this controversy between political and direct action, between revolutionists and evolutionists, in the years just preceding the war. During the war the Socialist movement, and the world at large, had the opportunity of watching a great experiment in direct action and in revolutionary Socialism. I refer, of course, to the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Lenin and Trotsky and the other Bolshevik chiefs were faithful pupils and disciples of Karl Marx. They had taken part in the academic debates of pre-war Socialism, and they had advocated revolutionism against the reformists. With grim consistency they relentlessly put their principles into practice when their opportunity came.

Were the Bolsheviks successful or not in their great Socialist effort ? Have the facts vindicated their theories ? I will only say, for the present, that the Socialists of other countries are still divided in their verdict on Bolshevism. In every country Bolshevism has a strong Socialist section to defend it. In France the Socialist quarrels on this question have been so bitter as to break up the French Socialist movement into little pieces.

It will be convenient now to break off for a while from the question of the way to Socialism in order to speak on the other point of dispute as to the form of Socialism. Socialism stands for socialising property, for making it common instead of private. But there can be different sorts of common ownership. The most familiar form is public ownership, as when property is vested in the State, municipalities and other organs of government

When Socialism ceased to be vaguely utopian or violently revolutionary in the last quarter of the nineteenth century this is the form of socialisation that was held up as the goal in ordinary Socialist propaganda. The people of every capitalist country were familiar with public ownership of post offices and gasworks and waterworks and a hundred other utilities. All that Socialism meant was an extension of the same policy to mines and railways and shipping and banks and economic enterprises generally. It seemed a very plausible and quite practicable policy, and many moderate-minded people were attracted to it who would never have been won to revolution or utopias. It was this sort of socialisation that the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party popularised in England. It will be convenient to call this kind of socialisation Collectivism, and it was the kind favoured by those who believed in the method of constitutional reform as opposed to revolution.

Please observe how moderate and feasible this kind of Socialism may appear. It proposes no violence, no unconstitutional action, no novel form of ownership. It would only extend those forms of public ownership that were already working with considerable success, and it would extend them by the established legal methods of expropriation with compensation known to every government. A great many moderate people of all classes took up this form of Socialism, and its steady progress in winning new supporters might have seemed assured. But here a most significant development took place, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. The caution and conservatism of Collectivism which induced moderate-minded people to attach themselves to Socialism repelled the extremer elements. This public ownership, this Collectivism, this State Socialism, they said, is nothing but a sham. State Socialism is simply State Capitalism. To make the State the universal

employer is not to emancipate Labour, but to put the workers under a new master who may well be more tyrannous than the old.

At the outbreak of the war, State Socialism or Collectivism had lost favour among the younger generation of Socialists. They wanted socialisation of another sort—Syndicalism, workers' control, Guild Socialism. It was to be some sort of common ownership ; but it was not to be the kind that Sidney Webb had elaborated, and which Mr. Philip Snowden and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the whole school of the I.L.P. had learned from Mr. Webb. It can be said for Collectivism that it is a fairly definite and intelligible policy, but the new syndicalist forms had little that was positive about them. Their vagueness, however, was and is an attraction to many people. The change in socialist thought is exemplified in the Independent Labour Party, the principal British Socialist organisation. It drew up a programme in 1906 in which its " Object " was stated in the following words :

" The object of the Party is to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well-being of the community, and when the exchange of commodities will be organised also by the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the International Socialist movement."

This is a statement of simple State Socialism. It satisfied the party for about ten years or so when the influence of the anti-Collectivist school made itself felt. Various revisions of the party programme were made until something like a settled revision was agreed upon in 1922 after much controversy. The new statement of the object of the party is as follows :—

" The I.L.P. is a Socialist organisation and has for its object the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

" The Socialist Commonwealth is that state of society in which land and capital are communally owned, and the processes of production, distribution, and exchange are social functions.

"The Independent Labour Party believes in democracy organised, both in its political and industrial aspects, for communal ends.

"The basis of political democracy must be the whole body of citizens, exercising authority through a national representative assembly, directly elected by the people, with a decentralised and extended system of local government.

"The basis of industrial democracy must be: (1) The organisation of the wage and salary earners; and (2) the organisation of consumers.

"A central body, representative of the people both as producers and consumers, must decide the amount and character of communal production and service necessary. The internal management of each industry must be in the hands of the workers, administrative, technical and manual, engaged therein, operating in conjunction with the representatives of the organised consumers. Experience will determine the methods of co-operation and the detailed form of organisation, as step by step is taken towards the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth."

This new conception of political and industrial democracy is more complicated than Collectivism. Whether it will hold the faith of its believers longer than Collectivism has done remains to be seen. Collectivism is a system that has been tried, though on a limited scale. The plans for the division of industrial control between producers and consumers have not been tried. When the I.L.P. programme states that experience will determine Socialist plans as step by step is taken towards the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth, it confesses that it has no plans. It is adopting the approved plan of prudent statesmen expressed in the maxim "Wait and See." The truth is that since the discredit of Collectivism, Socialism has been in the melting pot. The people who call themselves Socialists only manage to find a common formula by deliberately using words which are vague enough to mean anything. There are ignoramuses and fools and fanatics in the Socialist movement who would repeat all the madnesses of the Bolshevists. There are other men in the Socialist move-

ment who would seek tranquillity as earnestly as any Tory. The leading men in the Socialist movement are moderates, which means that they are opportunists. They will recite Socialist shibboleths on ceremonial occasions; but when they are in power they will be guided by expediency. They are telling us this already. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald opened a national campaign of the I.L.P. to popularise Socialism early this year in Birmingham. In his speech he told what Socialism was. I quote him as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*.—

"Looking at our history, and seeing both the good and the evil in it, they were able in the light of experience to project a better conception into the future and they called that conception Socialism. They could have the mere reflex action of the Tory or the reflective action of the Socialist. The reflex action of the Tory is the purely mechanical action of the donkey that went for the carrot, was thrashed for it, but returned and was thrashed again. It was the action that led us to Spa and failure, but did not prevent us from going to San Remo, and after that to Brussels and later to Genoa. If the reflective action of the constituencies had not put an end to the reflex action of the late Government, this country would have been destroyed in six years. They could have haphazard progress or progress to a plan. The Socialist method was the town-planning method applied to society. The Socialist method was the method of experience, study and co-ordination—the working to a plan by experiment. 'If,' added Mr. MacDonald significantly, 'we find by experiment we are wrong we will drop it. Don't you make any mistake about that. I would like to know how progress is to be secured in any other way.'"

Mr. Macdonald is always judicious, and he does not commit himself to saying more than that the Socialist way is the intelligent way and the Tory way is the stupid one. The Socialist is going to make experiments, and if he finds that any particular experiment is wrong he will drop it. Making experiments, and sometimes finding them wrong and dropping them, is what all Governments, even the stupid Tory ones, have always been doing. Mr. MacDonald will not be very different as an experimenter from Mr. Lloyd George or Disraeli

or Sir Robert Peel. The same assurance of the Conservative character of Socialism was given by Mr. Philip Snowden in his speech during the debate on Socialism in the House of Commons last March. He said there were various ways in which the country had been restraining and limiting Capitalism, and all that he suggested was that we should continue on these lines but move much more rapidly. In an article in *The Manchester Guardian Supplement* Mr. Snowden said :—

"The Socialism of the British Labour Party is just a matter-of-fact practical aim for the extension of the already widely accepted principle of the democratic ownership and control of the essential public services. It intends no revolution of method, which is and will remain democratic. It emphatically repudiates such absurdities as the 'dictatorship of the proletariate.' Its propaganda is directed to convincing the people of the wisdom and necessity of its programme. A Labour Party in office will seek to carry out no radical changes for which it has not a mandate from the electors. It is by no means unlikely that the most violent criticism of a British Labour Government will come from the extremists, who regard it as timid and conservative." (1)

A still stronger statement of the step-by-step method of Socialism was made by Mr. Sidney Webb in his presidential address to the Labour Party Conference. He said :—

"For the Labour Party, it must be plain, Socialism is rooted in political democracy ; which necessarily compels us to recognise that every step towards our goal is dependent on gaining the assent and support of at least a numerical majority of the whole people. Thus, even if we aimed at revolutionising everything at once, we should be compelled to make each particular change only at the time, and to the extent, and in the manner in which ten or fifteen million electors could be brought to consent to it. How anyone can fear that the British electorate, whatever mistakes it may make or may condone, can ever go too fast or too far is incomprehensible to me. That, indeed, is the supreme, valuable safeguard of any effective democracy.

"But the Labour Party, when in due course it comes to be

(1) *Manchester Guardian Supplement*, ninth Number.

entrusted with power, will naturally not want to do everything at once. Surely, it must be abundantly manifest to any instructed person that, while it would be easy to draft proclamations of universal change, or even enact laws in a single sitting purporting to give a new heaven and a new earth, the result the next morning would be no change at all unless, indeed, the advent of widespread confusion. Once we face the necessity of putting our principles first into bills, to be fought through committee clause by clause; and then into the appropriate administrative machinery for carrying them into execution from one end of the kingdom to the other—and this is what the Labour Party has done with its Socialism—the inevitability of gradualness cannot fail to be appreciated."

For the moment, British Socialism, like the Conservative Party, is going in for tranquillity, for constitutionalism and gradualness. Its method is legal, parliamentary action; its goal is something that eye hath not seen or ear heard; it is not the public ownership that used to satisfy Socialists and which already operates in undertakings like the Post Office—it is to be a sort of hybrid of public ownership and workers' control such as never has existed and which cannot be hinted at save in barest outline. The new form of Socialism, despite its present vagueness, may have a great future before it; but certainly it has no past behind it.

We have seen that Socialists are now disinclined to advocate pure Collectivism. The anti-Collectivists were at one time coquetting with direct action or direct control by the workers themselves. The experiences of Russia, of Hungary and Italy have been a set-back to belief in workers' control. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution the socialisation of factories took place, that is to say, the workers in the different factories took the management into their own hands. The results were appalling. One of the best-known Bolshevist leaders, Karl Radek, thus writes of them :—

"Everywhere the workers set up works committees, so that control over the factory might be quickly followed by control over

(1) *Manchester Guardian* June 27, 1923.

the business. Everywhere they endeavoured, as a group or as individuals, to take the greatest possible advantage of their freedom from the domination of the capitalists. Consequently the seizure of power was followed by a period of accelerated economic decay. Every group of workers who run an isolated factory and organise production without reference to any other business are guided in their conduct by the interests of their group. They sell old stock to those who offer the highest price ; they produce not what is needed by the community, but what they hope will have a good sale. It needs no special intelligence to see that this is not Socialism." (1)

To grapple with the situation the Bolshevists abolished workers' control and set up a system of State control. This system of State control broke down, and the Bolshevists in desperation had recourse to the conscription of labour. This was at the beginning of 1920. In March, 1921, Lenin had proclaimed the failure of Communism, and he suggested what is known as the N. E. P., the New Economic Policy, which was a return to Capitalism so far as Capitalism could be induced to return to Russia. Small and large businesses were denationalised, profit-making was allowed, and the workers got back the right to strike !

So much for Russia. The seizure of factories by workers in Italy was such a fiasco that it led to the Fascist movement and the dictatorship of Mussolini. In Hungary the same sort of workers' uprising led at first to the dictatorship of the proletariate, that is to say, to compulsion by a central Soviet power. The dictatorship of the proletariate itself broke down in Hungary, and the country returned to a capitalistic regime. As to Germany, which is the only other great country where the Socialists held power after the war, all that is to be said is that the Socialists funked trying Socialism. There was a German Socialist Government which thought the best thing to do was to leave Capitalism intact, and it remains intact at the present moment.[2]

(1) Quoted in *Socialisation in Theory and Practice* by Heinrich Ströbel, (P. S. King and Son, 1922).

(2) See Ströbel, *op. cit.*

There have been English experiments in workers' control in the form of building guilds, furnishing guilds, tailoring guilds, and others. The builders were the pioneers, and they operated on the largest scale. For a time they had astonishing success. There were 160 building guilds in the country. At the end of 1921 the National Building Guild was able to show that it had received in a year something over £600,000 for work done and materials supplied. It had handled contracts worth two million pounds. By the end of the following year the National Building Guild was in the hands of a Receiver. The extent of its collapse may be inferred from the fact that its creditors in the London area agreed to accept one shilling in the pound in settlement of their claims.[1]

Socialists have won elections, and they have got Socialistic resolutions passed by Labour assemblies. But all their triumphs are purely verbal. They do not achieve Socialism; they often do not try to achieve Socialism; they take refuge in a purely empirical policy little different from that of Conservatives or Liberals. Socialism is losing its terrors because it is losing all meaning.

HENRY SOMERVILLE.

(1) The balance sheet for 1922 of the Irish Co-operative Clothing Manufacturing Society, a Society controlled by the workers, showed a loss of £18,571. At the moment of writing, this Society is also in the hands of a Receiver.

STYLITES OR PILLAR-SAINTS[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IT may freely be admitted, though the matter has sometimes been exaggerated for controversial purposes, that the early Irish Church and the other Celtic Churches exhibited not a few points of marked resemblance with the Churches of the East. This likeness was not confined to the liturgy alone, but it extended to their practices of devotion and to the whole spirit of their asceticism. To take one striking instance, the *slectana* or *slectain* (a word obviously borrowed from the Latin *flectenæ* which occurs in the Book of Armagh), *i.e.*, the prostrations or profound inclinations, continually reiterated by Irish ascetics as an exercise of penance, evidently impressed their contemporaries on the Continent as something new and unfamiliar. Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau, tells us in 841 that:—

> While the whole Church maintains the practice of kneeling, more especially do men of Irish nationality (*Scotorum natio*) lay stress upon this observance, many of whom—some with more, some with less, but in any case with genuflexions during the day or night which are fixed and counted—persist in this exercise of bending their knees not only to bewail their past sins, but also for the discharge of their daily devotions.[2]

Similarly in the early *Codex Bernensis* of Virgil, a gloss makes reference to the kind of prostration "which the Irish use." The practice, no doubt, became much more general as time went on, but, so far as Germany

[1] *Les Saints Stylites* par Hippolyte Delehaye, Bollandiste. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel, 1923.

[2] *De Exordiis;* Migne, P. L. cxiv. 953. *Cf.* also Mabillon, *AA. SS. Benedict* II 38: "consuetudo est hominibus hujus gentis (Scoticæ) centies et eo plus genuuflectere per diem."

and Northern Italy were concerned, its introduction was traced to Ireland. On the other hand this observance of counted genuflexions was familiar in the East from quite primitive times. Hegesippus writing before A.D. 167 declares that the kneelings of the Apostle St. James, "the brother of our Lord," were so frequent that his knees grew hard like those of a camel, whilst amongst the most famous practitioners of this form of asceticism was St. Simeon of Stylites, the elder,—

> I, 'tween the spring and downfall of the light,
> Bow down one thousand and two hundred times
> To Christ, the Virgin Mother and the Saints.[1]

Neither are these figures a mere exaggeration of the poet. Theodoret, the Church historian, who knew Simeon well and who wrote his account while the Saint was still living on his pillar, affirms with conviction :—

> As the Atlantic Ocean cannot be fathomed, so the works daily accomplished by him [Simeon] exceed all description . . . . He is marvellous at one time for the long periods during which he stands upright, at another for his bowings to earth as he offers adoration to God. Many spectators have counted these inclinations (προσκυνήσεις) of his. On one occasion a companion of mine, after counting 1,244 of them, gave up the attempt in despair. Moreover every time the Saint bent down he bowed his forehead to his feet, for since his stomach takes nourishment but once in the week, and then but very little in quantity, it allows his back very easily to bend.[2]

Not the least valuable section in the exhaustive monograph which Father Delehaye has just published upon the Pillar-Saints is that in which he deals with the origin of this strange development of ascetical practice. Refuting the contention of Holl and Toutain that the idea was borrowed from certain obscure pagan observances in honour of the Syrian goddess Atargatis or Derketo, in which according to Lucian (*De Syria dea* 28–29) a man once a year climbed to the summit of a

[1] Tennyson, "St. Simeon Stylites." [2] Migne P. G. lxxxii, 1480-1.

gigantic stone phallus at Hierapolis and remained there a week without descending, Father Delehaye shows overwhelmingly that the form of austerity adopted by the Pillar-Saints was no more than a fortuitous evolution of the penitential discipline of the στάσις. In the passage of Theodoret just quoted, the Bishop historian contrasts two forms of rigorous penance, the prolonged periods of standing upright (the στάσις) and the reiterated deep inclinations (the γονυκλισίαι). Simeon the elder (who died in 449, being then of 70 years of age) was undoubtedly the originator of this mode of life and probably ascended his first column, which was only nine or ten feet high, in 412. But before he hit upon this device for securing himself from the importunities of his admiring clients, he, like many ascetics before him in Syria and Egypt, had been practising the *stasis* in various forms for a long period. Three years he spent at Tell-Neschin, a few miles from Antioch, walled up in a miserable hut, and here for the first time he passed the whole of Lent without eating and drinking, though the effort nearly cost him his life. So long as his limbs would support him he remained upright, but when his strength was exhausted he fell upon the ground unable to rise to his feet or even to move. This experience did not prevent him from following the same course in every recurring Lent during the forty-three years which remained to him on earth. Moreover he so hardened himself in these practices of austerity that later, when occupying the little platform of his column, he was able for the whole forty days and nights to stand upright upon his feet. But the final expedient which took the form of this pillar hermitage did not suggest itself at once. He tried first a natural fastness among the rocks.

> Three winters, that my soul might grow to Thee,
> I lived up there on yonder mountain side.
> My right leg chain'd into the crag, I lay
> Pent in a roofless close of rugged stones.

Even in this seclusion the people found him out, brought him their sick to be healed and cut off pieces of his clothing for relics. It was then at last that the idea occurred to him of placing himself physically out of their reach by having a small pillar built, and in the course of years he occupied successively four such columns, each higher than the last.

> Then, that I might be more alone with Thee,
> Three years I lived upon a pillar, high
> Six cubits, and three years on one of twelve,
> And twice three years I crouched on one that rose
> Twenty by measure; last of all, I grew
> Twice ten long weary weary years to this,
> That numbers forty cubits from the soil.

Throughout, the central idea was the *stasis*, the restriction of movement accompanied by a posture almost uniformly upright and by exposure to all the rigours of a climate which varied from scorching heat to intense cold. This, as Father Delehaye proves by a great number of examples, was a form of austerity practised in all parts of the Christian East before Simeon had reached manhood. Palladius tells us of more than one such ascetic; for instance of Adolius who at Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives "regularly continued on his feet all night singing psalms and praying, and whether it snowed or rained or there was a white frost, he remained undaunted"; so also of Elpidius who "during his twenty-five years' life used to take food only on Sunday and Saturday and would spend the nights standing up and singing psalms"; and again of Sisinnius who "shut himself up in a tomb for three years, praying constantly, sitting down neither by night nor day, neither lying down nor walking out."[1]

It is interesting to notice that while the στάσις never met with the same vogue and developments in Ireland which marked the practice of γονυκλισίαι, still

[1] *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, Ed. Butler, chs. 43, 48, 49.

it was not unknown, at any rate in idea. Of St. Coemgen we are told by a native hagiographer :—

In the time of Lent Coemgen went into a wattled hut erected on a bare stone ; standing in cross-vigil for six weeks for the sake of God. A blackbird perched in the saint's hand, and built a nest, remaining there until she hatched her young. The angel told Coemgen to leave the hut. Coemgen said : " It is no great thing for me to bear this much pain for the sake of Heaven's King, who bore every pain on behalf of Adam's deed upon the cross of suffering." [1]

It is to be noted, however, that the Latin Life of the Saint, while speaking of the self-chosen seclusion to which he retired for seven successive Lents, and also of the birds that thronged about him there, is discreetly silent concerning the nest which was built in his hand. The one form of *stasis* which seems to have been commonly practised by Irish ascetics is that of standing immersed in icy-cold water up to the waist. There is, however, also the case St. Findchua of Bri-Gobann, of whom the Life in the Book of Lismore tells us :—

So there came seven master-smiths, who dwelt near him, and they made for him seven iron sickles, whereon he might abide to the end of seven years, so that he might get a place in heaven . . . Findchua spends seven years on his sickles, save one night only . . So he went out at the hour of refection to converse with Ronan, although he was sorely ashamed that his perforated body, pierced and holed by chafers and by beasts, should be seen by anyone else.[2]

The repetition of the number seven would alone be sufficient to warn us here that the hagiographer cannot be treated as an historian chronicling the facts which he has gleaned from documentary evidence. Are the astounding feats of endurance recorded of the Eastern Pillar-Saints of a more reliable character ? Father Delehaye in the opening sentence of his Introduction tells us frankly that " the first impression left by the

[1] Plummer, *Lives of Irish Saints*, II, pp. 123-4 and *cf.* pp. 136-137.

[2] *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Stokes, p. 235-6.

story of St. Simeon Stylites is that of a work of the imagination set out in vivid oriental colouring and having no point of contact with anything that actually happened." None the less the learned Bollandist, despite his well-known critical attitude towards all that savours of the marvellous, finds no difficulty in treating the narrative of Theodoret—and, speaking generally, most of the other biographies of the more famous Pillar-Saints—as serious historical sources which must claim respectful consideration even when they seem to make rather extravagant demands upon our credulity.

However much we may have to enlarge our ideas of the powers of physical endurance of which the human frame is capable, there can be no reasonable doubt that Simeon the elder did live for 37 years continuously upon a little platform, probably not much more than six or seven feet in diameter, while exposed to sun and cold and rain and all the winds of heaven. Simeon the younger, we are told more than once, began his experience as a pillar-hermit while yet a little child before he had lost his milk teeth. He died at the age of 75 in 592, having spent 68 or 69 years upon his different columns, for like his namesake he more than once changed the scene of his penitential existence. Both the Simeons began and ended their days in northern Syria. St. Daniel, who in point of time came nearest to the elder Simeon, was also a native of Syria, but his life as a stylite was passed at Constantinople, where he died in 493 at the age of 84. Two other ascetics who adopted the same form of penance were even older. Alypius is stated to have lived until he was 99, and St. Luke, at a somewhat later date, was a centenarian.

It is clear that exposure, lack of exercise and abstemiousness pushed almost to starvation point, do not at once prove fatal to all constitutions. With regard to the deprivation of food, it is not easy to decide how far we may accept without qualification the statements

of the various biographers. There seems to be no question that, under exceptional circumstances and in a warm climate, complete inedia may without fatal results be prolonged much further than used formerly to be supposed. The evidence of such reliable witnesses as Palladius, Ætheria and Epiphanius make it certain that in the fourth and fifth centuries quite a number of persons during Lent habitually went without food in these Eastern regions for five or six days at a time, eating only on the Sunday and the afternoon of the Saturday. Personally I am inclined to accept the statement that St. Simeon the elder for forty-three successive years passed his Lent without eating or drinking. Of St. Simeon the younger we are told, on the authority of a confidence which he made to his disciples towards the end of his life, that in his latter years God had relieved him of the necessity of taking any food at all. It is also affirmed that when comparatively a young man he passed thirty days without sleeping, though his prayer to be exempted altogether from the need of sleep was not entirely granted.

Father Delehaye justly points out that even the most conscientious biographers, credulous of the marvellous, may easily misinterpret and generalise statements of this sort, and it is noteworthy, as he shows, that the biographer himself speaks of certain shoots of a shrub growing on the hill-side which chanced to fall on his little platform and served him for food and drink. But with regard to the extreme rigour of the penance of most, if not all, the Pillar Saints whose lives are recorded in any detail, no doubt is possible. The standing position, which all maintained as long as strength remained, commonly involved very serious consequences in the way of bodily infirmity. Daniel suffered from terrible ulcers in his legs, of which his biographer gives a harrowing description, and when the Saint on one occasion was induced to leave his pillar for a brief space he could not walk a step, but had to be carried by his disciples. Most of the other

stylites seem to have been similarly afflicted, as for example Alypius, and indeed this must have been the almost inevitable result of the kind of life they led. The Indian fakirs suffer in the same way, as we may read in J. Fryer's description penned at the end of the seventeenth century:

> Another devotee [he writes] had made a vow not to lye down in sixteen years, but to keep on his feet all that while. This one came accompanied with two others under the same oath, the one had passed five, the others three years. All three of them had their legs swoln as big as their bodies, with filthy running ulcers exposed to view for the greater applause. Standing, they leaned on pillows hung in a string from the Banyan tree and had a pompous attendance of such ragged fakirs, their admirers.[1]

The pillar-saints were also, as can well be imagined, exposed to many other mischances. The cold at times was intense, and one winter's night when a terrible blizzard was blowing St. Daniel had his rough coat of skin carried away by the wind, leaving him exposed almost naked to the icy blast and the whirling snow. So violent was the gale that even when the day dawned it was impossible for a long time to erect a ladder and to come to his relief. When at last they reached him they found that he had fallen into a state of lethargy and it was only with the greatest difficulty that they brought him back to life. Still even then there was no question of carrying him down from his pillar if only for a few hours. He would allow no mitigation in his manner of life except the erection of a little shelter on his column to protect him from the rough weather. On another occasion, towards the middle of the seventh century, the Chronicle of George Hamartolus tells us of a great gale that uprooted many trees and blew down the columns of many Stylites.[2] In the time of St. Luke, the pillar-saint, the winter of 933–934 was of terrible severity—a fact attested independently by secular chronicles. The frost lasted 120 days and Luke narrowly

[1] Fryer, *New Account of East India*, p. 196. [2] Migne, P. G., cx, 861.

escaped with his life.[1] His column stood on the shores of the Bosphorus, and it was overthrown by an earthquake in 986 followed by a tidal wave. St. Luke was then dead, but his place had been taken by another ascetic who fell into the sea and was drowned. Another danger to which their manner of life was exposed was that of starvation. Being dependent upon others to procure for them the modicum of necessary provisions which they hauled up to the top of their pillars in a basket, these Stylites, especially in remote districts, were sometimes forgotten by their attendants. St. Lazarus one day accidentally upset his pitcher of water and nearly died of thirst before the accident was discovered. Paul of Latros, when a herdsman who usually looked after his needs went off harvesting, only saved himself from starvation by drinking a small quantity of oil which was left in his lamp.

None the less this strange manner of existence, despite its incredible hardships and dangers, became in a measure popular amongst those who were in pursuit of high perfection. For many centuries there must have been scores of stylites settled in the regions which are now vaguely designated as "the Near East." Of the vast majority of these no record survives, but their way of life, as Father Delehaye abundantly proves, was recognised as a distinct vocation, and we even find traces of a special liturgical benediction for such aspirants, similar to that which was provided in the Western Church for anchorets and *inclusi*. The last stylite of whom Father Delehaye has been able to discover any mention was living in Georgia about 1848, but in the 16th and 17th centuries we hear of such ascetics at Novogorod, in Mesopotamia and among the Ruthenians.

The institution, if it can be so described, was never able to obtain any foot-hold in the West. Indeed there seems to be no record of more than a solitary attempt

[1] Vanderstuyf in *Papologia Orientalis*, xi, 214.

to establish it there. St. Gregory of Tours, however, when passing through Yvoi in the Ardennes about the year 585, met a certain deacon named Wulflaicus, a Lombard by birth. This man told him that shortly before this date he had built a column there and had taken up his position on top of it barefoot. In the depth of winter, however, his sufferings had been almost unendurable. The nails of his feet fell off and icicles hung from his beard. Though he seems to have preached with success to the crowds of pagans who gathered to wonder at the spectacle, certain bishops who passed that way gave him no encouragement. They taxed him in fact with presumption in attempting to copy the way of life of St. Simeon Stylites, especially in such a climate. In the end he complied with their order to descend from his pillar, and they with the aid of crowbars and hammers had it thrown down and broken into pieces.

Although many theories have been propounded in connexion with the building of the Round Towers in Ireland, I do not think that any antiquarian has seriously suggested that they were constructed as pillars for stylite ascetics to dwell in. Father Delehaye[1] seems consequently to have read a little hastily the footnote in Abbot Butler's *Palladius* (I. 240), who only suggests that a particular monophysite hermit, mentioned in the *Book of the Governors*, must have inhabited a pillar resembling an Irish Round Tower. Although undoubtedly the majority of the columns used by the stylite ascetics were of solid masonry and had no inner staircase. I do not know any evidence which requires us to believe that they were all of this type. As Father Delehaye himself shows, there was a good deal of diversity as regards the amount of shelter afforded to the occupant on the summit. Some had a little hut, others were without any kind of canopy, though all seem to have had a trellis or railing to prevent the solitary from the consequences

[1] *Stylites*. p. clix.

of an accidental slip or false step. But after all it is only the paragons of this strange asceticism who have had their lives written in any detail, and it seems unlikely that their more humble imitators can all have soared to the same heights of self-crucifixion. Consequently it would seem to me unsafe to generalize and to assert too absolutely that the same kind of solid pillar must everywhere have been used by those who were commonly reckoned Stylites.

The exhaustive introduction and carefully edited Greek texts which make up the contents of Father Delehaye's admirable monograph provide certain problems for the theologian as well as for the historian and the student of comparative religion. The ideas of some of these pillar saints seem to have been bizarre in other ways besides the form which they selected for their practice of asceticism. St. Luke, the most famous stylite of the tenth century, was a man of vast charities. During a time of famine—this was before he mounted his pillar at Constantinople, though he was already a priest—he distributed to the poor all the stores of wheat he was able to lay his hands on in the granaries of his wealthy parents, without apprising them of the fact until afterwards. They approved what he had done, but he was not satisfied that he had yet done enough. Accordingly he told his father that he wished to secure for himself the bishopric of Sebaste, which was then vacant. For this purpose, he said, a hundred gold pieces would be required. The father gave the money, which was at once spent in relieving the poor. His biographer's only comment is to the effect that, instead of an earthly bishopric, he had set his heart on the metropolis of heaven. It is the same St. Luke who on one occasion sent from his column to a sick man at a distance a verbal absolution for all the sins he had committed and confessed.

Still more astonishing is the account given of the ordination of St. Daniel to the priesthood, against his

own wish and without imposition of hands—though, as Father Delehaye points out (p. lvi.), several strange parallels can be quoted from the literature of the same period. The archbishop Gennadius at the instance of the Emperor Leo, came to ordain St. Daniel, but dissembling his real purpose asked the holy man to have the ladder placed against the pillar in order that he might pay him a friendly visit. Daniel, however, was wary, and gave no direction to have the ladder brought. It was a very hot day, and the archbishop and all his attendant clergy waiting in vain and being parched with thirst, Gennadius at last directs his archdeacon to begin the service while he himself "ordains the holy man priest by means of prayer." Finally the archbishop cried out from the foot of the column: "Bless us, my lord priest, for priest you are henceforth by the grace of Christ. Whilst I recited the consecratory prayer God laid His hand upon you from on high."[1] Then, it appears, the ladder was brought. The archbishop mounted it, "taking with him the sacred Body and precious Blood of our Lord," and the prelate and the priest thus newly ordained, embracing in a holy kiss, mutually administered Communion to each other. I can only imitate Father Delehaye in leaving the question of the validity of this curious ordination service to the judgment of theological readers.

Not the least valuable portion of this interesting essay is that in which Father Delehaye sets out a temperate plea in mitigation of the harsh judgments which it is easy to pass upon the ascetical extravagance of the pillar saints. I believe that he is right in his contention that the vogue of this peculiar manner of life was mainly due to the extraordinary personality of its first inventor. St. Simeon the elder was a most remarkable and lovable man, and there can be no question as to the profound

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[1] *Vita Danielis Stylitæ*, c. 43 (Delehaye: *Les Stylites*, p. 40).

impression which he produced upon his contemporaries of every class and order. We must never forget that the stage upon which his life drama was enacted was an oriental stage. The bishops of Gaul who so unsympathetically nipped in the bud the attempt of Wulflaicus to create a similar tradition in the West were undoubtedly right. It was suited neither to the climate nor to the habits of thought of the people. But in the East, emperors, ecclesiastics, high dignitaries of the Court, and above all the rude and unlettered tillers of the soil were attracted and impressed by just these violent ideals of renunciation. It is easy to caricature Simeon and his imitators as no better than Christian fakirs, but the spirit which animated them was in no sense one of display and self-glorification. Renunciation for Christ's sake was the motive power of all, and speaking of the greater and nobler amongst them, they had no other aim than to draw souls to Him who had died in torment to redeem mankind.

HERBERT THURSTON.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXIV—Consolations

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

Four quatrains of the following poem, §§ 8–11, are edited and translated by O'Curry, Manners and Customs III. 318. He supposes the writer to have flourished about the year 1500. From the style and language I should put it later, but there are no references to fix the " time, place and person." As to the fourth question which, according to the medieval Irish, should be asked of every composition, " the cause of its making," we may infer that the unknown author wrote to please himself. His verse is quite lacking in the technique of the professional poet, yet it has a charm of its own. He tells how, after the loss of his dear friends, he falls back on the companions who never fail him, his books, his sword and dagger, the chess-board on which he once won many a hard match, above all his " musical branch," a beautiful harp. The text, from 23 D 4 (R.I.A.), is somewhat difficult, just because it is unscholarly, and therefore unconventional in style and orthography.

1. Deithfridh am dháil, a leobhráin,
a bhreac-sgríbhinn sgeólfholláin ;
ná déin dealachudh riomsa,
ó táid cách dom thréigionsa.

2. Tar, a dhuilleogach glanbhláith,
is fíordhaingean fuaighealtáith ;
coisgidh mo chumha dá n-aithle,
an ghlanghasrudh ghruadhghairthe.

3. Ad chonchlonn tabhair ag tochd
mo fpennér ollanhglan éadtrochd,
líonta d'airmpheannaibh géara
leabhairreannach righin nuaighléasta.

4. Tabhair fós páipéar is peall
fám láimh ón sgagtha sgríbheann [1]
eir rithleirg mín na duille,
mionleitir chiorrudhubh chóirethe.

[1] sgribhinn.

5. Mo dhuanaire[1] tabhair ret ais[2]
don Ghaoidheilg fhíoruasal fhorais,
go bhfionnam fréamha gach sgeoil,
géaga goile agas glaineóil.

6. Go ngabhainn fíorlaoidhthe feasa
glainiuil na ccraobh ccoimhneasa,
géaga gionalaidh gach fir,
éachda iongantais is aisdir.

7. Tabhair leat mo leabhar glaice
d'airitmetig orduighthe,
go ríomhainn reanna nimhe,
is ca líon láithe ón dílinne.

8. Ná déin dearmod don chraoibh chiuil
deargchláruidh thirim thaighiuir
uallanach bhogghothach bhinn,
is suanán codalta dh'intinn.

9. Dáilidh damh an liric loinneach,
eanghach éadtrochd ioghlannach,
niamhghreanta fadhairthe ar fod,
téidleabhair tochailte tiomchol.

10. An tan adchiú an chláirseach cheardach
donnsgáileach mhór mhínleargach
fa ghroidfheorg rithmhir mo mheoir,
do bhrosduigh mh'intinn d'aimhdheoin.

11. Gur sinniodh linn crithre corphort
d'fírrinn mo mheór bhfrithirghrod,
go tirim tiuighdhéantach trom
sileach cruitmhéarach cothrom.

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[1] dhuanair. [2] red tais.

12. Tabhair mo lann go n-áille
am dhorn daithgheal deasláimhe
go ccuirinn treasfhaobhar teann
ar a glantaobhaibh timcheall.

13. Tabhair mo mhionn sgiamhdha[1] sgine
ghormfhaobhrach ghlan ghéirrinne
go bhfaidhinn dlúiththilte a ttéid,
díol a cumhdaighthe an coiméd.

14. Minic riam budh roait liom
ficheall chorrfhleasgach chothrom,
ag loidhe fan éagáir[2] uirthe,
ag pléasgáil fhoirne orduighthe.[3]

15. Ag cur dhísle ón ghrian go roile
'na rithing réim rodbhuinne
fa mhíonchlár thíthidh thslim
fíoráluinn aoibhinn éadtroim.

16. Iar tteachd um thimcheall dóibh seo
cuirid foluamhain fúmsa,
go siubhlaim re seal ngairid
fad an talmhan tromfhóduidh.

17. Móide is tugtha toil mar so
don ghlanchuideachduin chaoimhseo
nach déinid munbhar ar fhear
éigion iomurcuidh ná aithfear.

18. Aitchim a sídh, sléachduim dóibh,
an bhuighean bheannaighthe bhláthchóir;
gabhuim tar chách lem dheibhleán,
nár fhágaibh mé am aonarán.

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[1] sgeamhdha. [2] eagar. [3] ordhuidhe.

Translation

1. Hasten towards me, my booklet, speckled writing of wholesome tales : part not from me, since all others are forsaking me.
2. Come thou of the fair smooth pages, firmly stitched together : check my grief after the loss of that fair bright-cheeked company.
3. Bring with thee, as thou comest, my pen-case, ready, clean, brilliant, filled with sharp dart-like pens, limber-tipped, firm, newly trimmed.
4. Bring likewise paper and cushion under my hand whence writing is to percolate upon the smooth slope[1] (?) of the leaf, a fine script, jet-black, uniform.
5. Bring with thee my verse-book of noble classic Gaelic, that I may learn the roots of each tale, branches of valour and fair knowledge.
6. That I may recite learned lays of the clear knowledge of kindred stocks, each man's family tree, exploits of wonder and travel.
7. Bring my handbook of ordered arithmetic, that I may number the stars of heaven, and how many days it is since the deluge.
8. Forget not the musical branch, red-timbered, dry, tuneful, wailing, soft-voiced, sweet, a slumberous lullaby to the heart.
9. Grant me the gladsome lyre, loud, brilliant, passionate, polished, seasoned throughout, fine-stringed, engraved all round.
10. When I see the graceful harp, brown-shadowed, great, smooth-curved, under the rushing swift frenzy of my fingers, my heart is stirred.
11. So that I have played sparkling melodies with the tips of my eager rapid fingers, with notes clean, closely linked, grave, nimble, hard-fingered, even.
12. Place my beautiful blade in my fair right hand, that I may put a firm battle-edge upon its shining sides all round.
13. Bring my beautiful jewel of a dagger, blue-edged, bright, sharp-pointed, with a sheath tightly corded (?)—the case itself is worthy to contain it.[2]
14. Often ere this have I taken great delight in a smooth-lined, even chessboard, pressing against the odds on it, scattering an ordered [3] host.
15. Casting dice from sun to sun, in succession like the course of a rushing stream, on the chequered smooth polished board, lovely, pleasant, light.
16. When these have come around me they make me to soar aloft, so that in a brief space I traverse the heavy-sodded world throughout.
17. The more should one so love this fair and dear company, for that against no man do they use murmuring, arrogance or reproach.
18. I beseech peace with them, I bow to them, the blessed smooth and comely band : above all I make a friend of my orphan, who has not left me all alone.

Osborn Bergin.

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[1] *rithlearg* is apparently meant as a compound of *learg*. Generally it is a corrupt form of the older *retoric*, a kind of rhapsody modelled on the rhetorical style of Late Latin.

[2] or " worthy to be protected," reading *chumhdaighthe*.

[3] The MS. reading *ordhuidhe* " gold-coloured " may be right.

THE MODELLER

(After Henri De Régnier).

I HAVE feigned the gods have talked with me indeed !
This one, dripping with wild spray and weed,
As from a sea-pool ;
That one, laden down with grapes and wheat ;
That other, wingéd,
Fierce and beautiful,
Straight in his shining body see him stand !
And this one always veiled, as she were bann'd ;
And then the other, sly and fleet,
While gathering hemlock singing his gay verses,
And stringing pansies, for memories,
The while around his golden thyrsus
The twin serpents he has ringéd :
And many more than these.

Then I have said, look at these flowery baskets,
these be-ribboned flutes ;
You can bite those fruits !
Hark to the humming of my bees,
And the mean sound
Of the green osiers while they are a-twist,
And of the reeds cut to the ground.

I have said also : hist,
O hist !
Someone behind the echo there is, I know,
Standing amid the life multitudinous,
Who bears the double torch, the double bow,
And who is us,
The Divine in us . . .

O Face invisible! into moulds thee have I run,
Of silver soft as the dawning white,
Of gold as ardent as the sun,
Of bronze as dusky as the night.
My medals are of every metal and alloy,
Some tinkle clear as joy,
Some clang like glory,
Like love, like death;
And I have made the loveliest, of fine clay—
Pale and frail are they.
In a breath,
They are all before ye.

One by one you ran them over, smiling,
And you said, "He is clever: yes!"
And passed on, smiling.

Not one of you has seen, then,
How my hands trembled with tenderness,
That all the great terrestrial dream of men
Had lived in me, to live in these again;
That the goodly metals I wrought in were no clods,
My gods,
But bore the living features
The soul discloses
Of the odour of roses,
Of water, of the wind,
Of the forest, of the sea,
Of all creatures—
And of the Divine in human kind,
In you and me.

GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT.

DOMENICO FETI

BY THOMAS BODKIN

DOMENICO FETI won fame as a painter during his brief career, but was soon forgotten. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries his works were occasionally noticed with the admiration which they deserved, and then were generally attributed to some more celebrated master. Morelli observes that the great name of Veronese was sometimes employed to filch his credit.[1]

Few of the facts of his life are known. Doubts have even been raised as to the correct spelling of his name. M. Endres Soltman,[2] Drs. Thieme and Becker,[3] and Algernon Graves,[4] relying on older authorities, all spell it "Fetti"; but his own signature appears to have been invariably "D. Feti." The only evidence to the contrary is the name "Domenico Fetti" on a sanguine drawing in Christ Church College, Oxford, and this, in all probability, was added as a mere description by some collector or dealer.[5]

Italian art historians writing since his time seldom omit to mention him with respect. But Baglione[6] himself, though he is our chief authority on Feti and was

[1] "Italian Painters" by Giovanni Morelli, London, 1892-3. Vol. I, p. 235. [2] "Domenico Fetti" by M. Endres Soltman. Munich, 1914. [3] "Lexikon der Bildenden Kunstler" by U. Thieme and F. Becker, Leipzig. 1915. Vol. XI, pp. 508-9 *et seq.* [4] "Art Sales" by Algernon Graves, F.S.A., London. 1918-22. Vol. I, p. 608 *et seq.* [5] See reproductions of his signature in (a) "Signatures et Monogrammes des Peintres" by Louis Lampe. Brussels. 1898, Vol. I, p. 80. Vol. II, p. 392. Vol. III, p. 718. (b) "Dictionnaire des Peintres" by E. Bénézit. Paris. 1911-23. Vol. II, p. 278. (c) "Cyclopedia of Painters" by J. D. Champlin and C. C. Perkins. London and New York. 1888. Vol. II, p. 68. [6] "Le Vite di Pittori" by Giovanni Baglione. Rome. 1642. Naples. 1733.

painting contemporaneously at Rome, has done little more than tell us the dates of his birth and death. Baglione's successors, from Lanzi downwards, have been equally terse. It was not till 1914 that a German scholar, M. Endres Soltman, made Feti the subject of a separate study, which has since been incorporated in Thieme and Becker's Kunstler-Lexikon.[1] In 1921 Signor R. Oldenburg produced a little paper-covered monograph[2] containing a five-page essay on the artist; a copious, but incomplete, list of his works; a useful bibliography and twenty-five reproductions. This is likely to remain, for long, unsuperseded.

The best biography of Feti in English with which I am acquainted is that written by Richard Graham in 1740.[3] As it contains the gist of the matter, it may be quoted in full :—

"DOMENICO FETTI was bred up under *Ludovico Civoli* (sic) in *Rome*, where he was born, *Anno* 1589: But attending Cardinal *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, afterwards Duke of *Mantoua*, to that City, by studying the *Works* of *Julio Romano* he became an excellent Imitator of that great *Master*. From thence he went to *Venice* to enlarge his Notions, and improve himself in *Colouring*: but broke his constitution so much by disorderly Courses that he died in his Prime, *Anno* 1624."

In 1744 a slightly more lengthy notice appeared in "Lives of the most Eminent Modern Painters, who have lived since or were omitted by Mons de Piles" by J.B.[4] The rest is well-nigh silence. Pilkington[5] compresses his account of Feti's career into nineteen lines; Bryant[6] allows it even less.

Most foreign visitors to the great exhibition of seventeenth and eighteenth Italian paintings, held at the

[1] Opus cit. [2] "Domenico Feti" by R. Oldenburg. Rome. 1921. [3] "A short account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern" by Richard Graham. Third Edition. London 1740, p. 256. [4] London, 1744. pp. 3-4. [5] "A Dictionary of Painters" by the Rev. M. Pilkington, with additions by Henry Fuseli; R.A. London. 1808. Vol. I, p. 319. [6] "Bryant's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers" revised by George C. Williamson, Litt.D. London. 1913-15. Vol. II, p. 158.

PLATE I

SUONATORE

PLATE II

MELANCHOLIA

(SOMETIMES ERRONEOUSLY STYLED LA MADELEINE)

Palazzo Pitti during 1922, were surprised, therefore, to find several of the principal walls devoted to Feti's work. No fewer than eighteen undisputed paintings by him were shown, together with two of questioned authenticity. These proved him to have been a painter of rare individuality and skill; and they must have sent many lovers of art in search of his other works, which are to be found in remarkable profusion throughout Europe. Signor Oldenburg catalogues no fewer than ninety-six, scattered through thirty-eight different galleries, ranging from Glasgow to Vienna. Sir Robert Witt in his wonderful library of reproductions [1] provides clues to many more. Yet numerous charming and important paintings, such as the lovely "Melancholy" in the Brussels Gallery (Plate II) [2] seem, so far, to have escaped the attention of both these authorities.

The study of Feti's work presents unusual difficulties. No master of his age, the age of eclecticism, was less consistent in his technical manner, his scale, his choice of subject. In the Pitti palace, in 1922, his bewildering complexity was strikingly demonstrated. The great lunette from the ducal palace of Mantua, "The miracle of the loaves and fishes," [3] containing a multitude of life-sized figures and measuring thirty feet in diameter, hung in company with his "Suonatore" from the Venice Academy (Plate I)[4], which measures eleven inches by eighteen. Feti painted in both fresco and oils. Some of his oil paintings are on canvas, others on panel; some are brushed in rich, loaded, creamy impasto, others in

[1] The Witt Library of Reproductions of Pictures and Drawings at 32 Portman Square, London. [2] At the time of writing it seems impossible to obtain in Brussels a copy of the latest catalogue of the Brussels gallery. This picture is not mentioned in the catalogue of 1906. It is, however, though not numbered, described on a tablet as a legacy by M. Ch. Th. Hanben. Photographed by Paul Becker, Brussels. [3] "Mostra della pittura Italiana del sei e settecento in Palazzo Pitti," Firenze, 1922, Catalogue No. 397. [4] Idem No. 401: and in the "Catalogue R.R. Gallerie di Venezia" by Luigi Serra. Venice. 1914. No. 749. Photographed by Filippi, Venice.

thin, fluid pigment. But in all is evident a striking individuality, both of conception and construction.

Critics, confused by his versatility, have always hastened to attribute to him strange affiliations and affinities. They have stressed too heavily the influence of his earliest master, Cigoli.[1] Julio Romano [2] did exercise some sway upon him, scarcely to be avoided by any young artist coming in constant contact with the decorative paintings of the Palazzo del Té at Mantua; yet it was less than is usually asserted and was soon shaken off. Caravaggio [3] stirred him perceptibly, as he stirred all artistic Italy of that age. But the example of the Venetians, particularly of Veronese and Tintoretto, towards the close of his life, counteracted usefully the naturalism he had learned from the chief of the Tenebrosi. Drs. Wagen [4] and Burchardt [5] record cases in which his work has been confounded with that of Bartolomeo Schidone. Morelli [6] remarks a confusion with Francesco Barroci. Frederick Peter Seguier [7] connects him with Sebastian Ricci and Giovanni Lanfranco. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who himself admired and possessed examples of Feti's art,[8] says in his "Journey to Flanders and Holland"[9]: "It would seem . . . . that there is a resemblance in the manner of Domenico Feti to that of Correggio." Signor Oldenburg may be correct in assuming that the works of Adam Elsheimer and Peter Breughel the elder played a part in his artistic education. We must, however, beware of going too far; and when we find three separate portraits of the

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[1] Ludovico Cardi. 1559-1613. [2] Gulio Pippi de Gianuzzi. 1499-1546. [3] Michelangelo Amerigi. 1569-1609. [4] "Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain" by Dr. Wagen. London. 1857. Supplement p. 470. [5] "The Cicerone" by Dr. Jacob Burchadt, Ed. by P. G. Konody, London. No date. p. 250. [6] "Italian Painters" by Giovanni Morelli. London. 1892-3. Vol. II, p. 79. [7] "A Critical and Commercial Dictionary of the Works of Painters" by F. P. Seguier. London. 1870. p. 68. [8] "The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds," Ed. by Edmond Malone, London. 1809. Vol. III, p. 387. [9] See sale records of the Marchioness of Thomond's collection, in F. P. Sequier's Dictionary, p. 68, and in Algernon Graves' "Art Sales," Vol. I, p. 272.

same man in the same pose, belonging respectively to the Hermitage, the Innes and a private French collection, attributed variously to Rembrandt, Fragonard and Feti, we need only conclude that two at least of these attributions are farcical and that Feti was an artist of amazing variety.

The exquisite little picture of the "Suonatore" (Plate I),[1] which I am enabled to reproduce for the first time by the courtesy of Signor G. Fogolai, the learned Director of the Venice Academy, was bought by him, in 1910, as a genuine work of the master, and was so described in the catalogue of the Pitti exhibition, where I had—and took—an opportunity of examining it closely. It is as fine in colour as in design. The lute-player wears a blue mantle over his white vest, which colours are echoed in the lake and mountain on the right. The technique shows it to belong to Feti's latest period. Signor Fogolai now writes to tell me that doubts have been cast on his attribution and that, in the opinion of other critics, the painting should be assigned to Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione.[2] I find it impossible to support this theory. A considerable acquaintance with, and study of, Feti's work forces me to the conclusion that this picture should be attributed to him with little, if any, hesitation. There are, admittedly, marked points of resemblance between the technique of Feti and that of Castiglione, as might be expected when we remember that both were employed at the Court of Mantua by the Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga. Castiglione was obviously greatly influenced by the numerous works of the older master which he found in his patron's collection. But nothing that I know of by Castiglione shows the marked romantic feeling so characteristic of Feti and so evident in this impressive little picture.

[1] Venice Academy catalogue, 1914 Edition. No. 749. See supra.

[2] Sometimes called Il Grechetto, or Il Benedetto. 1610-1665.

Not alone do I consider Feti its author; but I am inclined also to believe that it is a portrait of the artist himself. Proof of this is not forthcoming; and even evidence to that effect is admittedly slight. I first formed the view on the obvious grounds provided by the attitude of the figure, the angle and expression of the head and, especially, of the eyes. They are those of a painter, working right-handed, in light falling from the left, and studying himself in a mirror. No authenticated contemporary portrait of the artist exists. The Portrait Index published by the National Library of Congress [1] has but one reference to a portrait of Feti, and that is to the little unsigned oval line-engraving in Dezallier d'Argenville's " Abrégé de la Vie des plus Fameux Peintres." [2] This did not appear till more than a century after Feti's death. But the other portraits in this work, in cases where we can compare them with authentic likenesses, are obviously most accurate—and the majority of them lend themselves to such comparison. It seems, moreover, that where the author has failed to find a satisfactory likeness the frame provided to contain one at the head of each chapter has been left blank.

The portrait of Feti, though turned in the opposite direction, bears the strongest resemblance to the " Suonatore." In the Cyclopedia of Champlin and Perkins [3] another line engraving representing Feti appears. It is probably derived from the earlier print, but, as the head has been reversed, the resemblance to the " Suonatore " is even more marked. The age of the man, about thirty-three or -four, would correspond with Feti's age at the time the work was painted. If my theory that the picture is a self-portrait of its author be correct, its

[1] " Library of Congress, A.L.A. Portrait Index." Washington, 1906. p. 509.
[2] " Abregé de la Vie des plus Fameux Peintres " by Dezallier d'Argenville. Paris. 1745. Vol. I, p. 37. The Portrait Index reference is to an edition dated 1762. A fine set of the earlier edition in four volumes, with excellent impressions of the engravings, is to be found in the Fagan collection in Trinity College Library. Ref. Fag. K.6. 45-7. [3] Opus cit. Vol. II, p. 53.

attribution to Castiglione must be at once, and finally, ruled out; for the figure presents no point of resemblance to Castiglione, whose likeness is preserved for us in his fine portrait by himself now in the Royal Gallery at Brussels,[1] in the well-known line-engraving by Carlo Gregori after Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, and in an anonymous engraving illustrating the "Abrégé."[2]

Feti very rarely signed his work and never, to my knowledge, dated it. No effort has yet been made to arrange it in a chronological series. In the absence of documents bearing on his career this would prove a task calling for remarkable critical insight. We have, at least, a starting point in the two angels from his hand which appear in Cigoli's painting of the Madonna in the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, at Rome. This is the only authenticated work of Feti's Roman period. In Mantua, whither he went when he was twenty-four and where he remained as Court painter till he was thirty-one, a large number of his works are still preserved in the sites for which they were painted. The Cathedral of Mantua is decorated, ceiling and walls, with his frescoes. The churches of San Andrea and Santa Barbara and the Academy Virgiliana all contain important paintings in oil. Research in the local archives would probably succeed in establishing the dates at which these were commissioned. This is work for the archæologist. The pure critical faculty would probably be better employed in endeavouring to arrange the extraordinary series of paintings with similar subjects, varied in detail, which form a unique feature of his enigmatical production.

Every student of painting knows that most great artists become fascinated from time to time with some particular composition of their own, which they reproduce with variations. It may be that they have felt them-

[1] No. 92. [2] Opus cit. Vol. I, p. 379.

NOTE.—I hope to be allowed by the Editor to contribute to a future number of STUDIES an account of Castiglione with special reference to two curious pictures by him which I was fortunate enough to discover in Dublin some years ago.

selves capable of improving the first version. It may be, only, that they commence the second with the design of making an accurate copy and find, as the work proceeds, that they are incapable of the monotony of mere reproduction. Sometimes, no doubt, we owe these varied versions to the whims of a patron who coveted a painting in another's possession. But this is not likely to have been, in general, the cause of repetition among the greatest masters of all the schools. It would be more than a curious coincidence had Titian, Rembrandt, Reynolds, and Poussin all been moved, at the height of their fame and powers, in the same way by a patron's whim. Yet Titian loved to paint variations of his "Danaë," which may be found in the public collections of Austria, Italy, Russia and Spain.[1] Rembrandt's "Flayed Ox" exists, according to Dr. Hofstede de Groot, in four authentic works.[2] "The Snake in the Grass" was the subject of at least five pictures by Reynolds.[3] To come nearer home for an example of this trait, Poussin's "Bacchante and Satyr," in the Lane Collection of the Dublin National Gallery,[4] is duplicated in the Prado at Madrid.[5]

Feti went to further lengths than all these masters and sometimes made as many as seven variations on the same theme. Signor Oldenburg records four versions of his "Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard."[6] I myself have come across two more,[7] and have little doubt that others exist. There are, at least, five versions of his life-sized "Melancholy."[8] Four are

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[1] In the Vienna, Naples, Hermitage and Prado collections. [2] In the Rath Museum, Buda Pest (No. 199. Cat. 1906), the Glasgow Gallery (No. 307, Cat. 1911), the Louvre (No. 23, Vol. III. Cat. 1922); the John G. Johnson collection at Philadelphia (No. 475. Cat. 1913). [3] In the National Gallery, London; the Soane Museum; the Hermitage; Lord Wimborne's and the late Lord Burton's collections. [4] No. 43, "Catalogue of Pictures given or bequeathed by Sir Hugh Lane." Dublin. 1918. [5] No. 2049, Cat. 1900. [6] In the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome; the Royal Gallery, Dresden; the Palazzo Pitti, Florence; and the Earl of Yarborough's collection. [7] One was recently in possession of Messrs. Knoedler; another was sold at "Christie's," July, 1921. [8] In the Ferdinandeum, at Insbruck; the Fabre Museum at Montpellier; the Louvre and Venice.

referred to by Signor Oldenburg. The fifth is here reproduced (Plate II) from the picture in the Brussels Gallery. Two others, not now to be traced, are mentioned by M. Seymour de Ricci.[1] "La Fileuse,"[2] a painting on canvas in the Louvre, is almost identical with a painting on panel which Dr. Tancred Borenius showed at Florence, in 1922, under the title "La Vita Campestre."[3] Large pictures of "David with the head of Goliath" may be seen at Dresden,[4] Hampton Court[5] and Petrograd; and a little panel which I possess, painted by David Teniers the younger, and considered to be one of the famous series of miniature copies of works in the collection of the Archduke Leopold William,[6] seems to show that there was yet another work by Feti in that fine gallery, differing in important particulars from those now traceable. Dr. Burchardt mentions a fifth as existing in his day in the Manfrin collection at Venice, long since dispersed.[7] A possible sixth was sold with the Kolisch collection in Vienna, in 1921.[8]

Hasty or ill-informed judgment might tend to describe some of Feti's many variations of the same subjects as copies by pupils or followers, though most if not all of them differ widely in details, were it not that their authenticity has been freely admitted by the best critics. Moreover, Feti died young and did not found a school. Jan Lys spoke of him as his master, but only in the sense that he was influenced by his example. Feti's sister, Giustina, known in religion as Suora Lucrina, is reported

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[1] Description Raisonée des Peintres du Louvre, Paris. 1913. p. 54. No. 1287. [2] Idem p. 54. No. 1287, and "Catalogue Sommaire des Peintres du Louvre." Paris. 1923. No. 1287. [3] No. 411. [4] No. 415, Cat. 1908. [5] No. 201, Cat. 1921. In the collection of Charles I. Inventoried by the Commissioners at the Restoration as "a monstrous piece of Butchery by Fettee." Originally in Ferdinando Gonzaga's collection. See 7th report of the Historical Commission 1879. [6] Among others from this series by Teniers may be remarked three in the Dublin National Gallery (Nos. 288-90 and 441, Cat. 1920) and four in the Wallace Collection, including one after Feti, No. 638, Cat. 1920. [7] Opus cit. p. 250. (Absurdly described by the Doctor). [8] Sold by Gluckselig and Warndorfer, 7-10 November, 1921.

to have been a clever painter who copied her brother's work; but I cannot trace a single copy which can be plausibly laid to her account.

The four paintings of "The Good Samaritan" reproduced here (Plates III, IV, V and VI)—three of them for the first time—have all been admitted as authentic by those best acquainted with Feti's work, though none of them is signed. I know of no series more varied, or more suitable to serve as an illustration of his method of developing a theme by a process of repetition.

The first version (Plate III) is to be found in the Royal Gallery at Dresden.[1] It measures twenty-seven inches high by thirty-two and a half inches wide and is on panel. Here the story has been sunk in the setting. The park-like landscape has engrossed the artist's attention. The dead tree, so vividly observed and dramatically rendered, is far and away the principal subject of the painting from the purely pictorial point of view. As a composition the work lacks balance and cohesion, though it contains delightful passages of painting.

The second version (Plate IV) is in Venice, in the collection of Baron Hadeln, the well-known and highly-reputed critic of Italian painting, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph which is here reproduced.[2] This picture is also on panel. I have not seen it myself and do not know its dimensions. It is probably similar in size to the Dresden picture. The photograph is sufficient evidence of a great advance on the earlier version. The gaunt tree has been subordinated and softened. It has now lost much of its undue importance and takes its place more naturally as an accessory in the scene. The unnecessary ruined temple has been suppressed altogether. The sky and the foliage are

[1] No. 425. Cat. 1908. Photographed by Bruchmann, Munich. This picture and others by Feti in the gallery were in the collection of Ferdinando Gonzaga. They were then acquired by Charles I. and, after his execution, by the Archduke Leopold William. [2] It was formerly in the Barberigo collection. Photographed by Giacomelli, Venice.

PLATE III

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

PLATE IV

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

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PLATE V

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

PLATE VI

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

rendered with more austerity. The picture is intenser, yet not less decorative.

In the third version (Plate V) Feti gives his romantic temperament more rein. This is also a panel, in the collection of Cavaliere L. de B. Spiridon at Rome.[1] It measures about two feet high by eighteen inches wide. All inessentials are now purged away, and the artist has devised an extraordinarily ingenious and effective design, where every radiating line runs to and from the centre of interest—the grouped figures of the good Samaritan and the hapless Jew. The colour is rather weak, though of an exquisite pearly quality ; and the expression of the wounded man still leaves much to be desired. He has the air of one overcome by strong liquor rather than by thieves.

The picture which I believe to be the culmination of the series is in my own possession (Plate VI). I bought it some years ago, unframed, unrecognised and unappreciated, in a Dublin cabinet-maker's store.[2] By request of the municipality of Florence, I lent it to the exhibition of 1922, where it hung in company with the Spiridon painting. It is the only one of the series which is painted on canvas ; and it seems to me, an admittedly partial judge, to be the only one on which the artist lavished the full resources of his technical skill. It measures twenty-three and a half inches high by seventeen and a half inches wide, is painted in solid satisfying impasto with glazings and scumblings, and is in every way stronger than the previous versions. The sky has a new, significant intensity. The trees are less theatrical. The chiaroscuro is bolder and deeper. The design is more subtle and yet not more obvious or elaborate. The colour scheme is rich and marvellously related to the

[1] Cat. No. 408. in the Florence exhibition of 1922. Photographed by Fratelli Alinari, Florence. [2] Formerly in the collection of William Beckford of Fonthill Abbey and Francis Johnston, first president of the Royal Hibernian Academy. Photographed by Thomas Geoghegan, Dublin.

clean blacks and whites of the Samaritan's turban at the centre of both interest and arrangement. When exhibited at Florence it was described by one of the best living authorities on its period as " un esemplare grazioso di quelle interpretazione affascinanti delle sacre Parabole in cui eccelse il Feti." [1]

My discussion of these four pictures is necessarily tentative ; and my theory as to their chronological order cannot be considered proved on the internal evidence, which alone is before me. It is enough for my purpose if I suggest a line of research among Feti's works which may yield useful results to more competent critics.

Dr. Tancred Borenius, in his inaugural lecture as professor of the history of art in the London University, wisely said :—

" We are apt to be astonished or to smile when we think of the amateurs of the 18th century walking past the work of the Primitives and devoting a whole-hearted attention to the artists of the 17th century ; and forget that every age has its own artistic blinkers. For a long time we have been in the habit of dismissing the 17th century artists with a glance . . . . although this very analogy ought to have put us on our guard. As a matter of fact, the interest in the art of the 17th century—so magnificent and absorbing in many respects—shows marked signs of reviving ; and the great loan exhibition recently held in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence is a tangible expression of that fact . . . . We must beware, in studying art history, of harbouring similar illusions of finality." [2]

No great artist of the seventeenth century has been more neglected by modern critics and scholars than Domenico Feti ; and few deserve, or are more likely to reward, persistent, skilled research.

THOMAS BODKIN

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[1] " Dedalo," Anno. III. Fasc. II. p. 96.

[2] " The Quarterly Review " No. 475. April, 1923. pp. 258-270.

GEOGRAPHY AS A SUBJECT OF GENERAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.
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IN the present curriculum, 1923-24, for Irish Secondary Schools, Geography, like History, has become an optional subject. It was so, too, in the preceding school year; but fortunately these two years are to be regarded as a transition period. Down to 1922, Geography in some form was obligatory for all pupils from 12 to 18 years of age; but it was accorded small credit and an insignificant position in the programme of studies. It was a minor section of the course called English, coming probably last in the topics so described—Composition, Literature, History, Geography. Almost invariably the examination paper, exercising great influence on class work, was in the hands of some one skilled in English Literature or in History. The standards of work in Geography, the types of exercises used in it, thus naturally suffered. About fifteen years ago a definite effort was made to place this subject on a real scientific basis, and to develop its range of topics; but under pressure from the devotees of English Literature in Irish Schools this promising advance was abandoned. As a part of the subject of English, Geography carried such a limited obligation with it that a creditable record in the general examination could be secured without any proved attention to this sub-division. The wonder is that, with so many temptations to neglect the subject in Ireland, many Secondary Schools did make good use of this indispensable branch of a sound general education.

By the general practice of Continental Europe, History and Geography are treated as a composite subject, obligatory in any course of general secondary instruction. No lesser position will be adequate for the modern subject of Geography, which has made immense educational advances in the past thirty years. It has now vindicated its claims to be an important study at the University stage of education, though no English-speaking country has yet accorded it the position it holds at Louvain as a complete study for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. The union of History and Geography, however, is not a fusion, if Geography is to have its own life: the two subjects are rather friendly than cognate. It is only modern History, from the epoch of the French Revolutionary Wars, that can properly be blended with modern economic and racial Geography into one branch of study. This has been done with great success in the curriculum for the final classes in Secondary Schools, both in France and in Germany. Otherwise, the two subjects are to be regarded as an administrative unit for the purposes of organising a curriculum and assigning duties to a teaching staff in a school, and not as material for a forcible application of the principle of internal unity in method and in subject-matter.

Except perhaps in mathematics, no better instance can be found than Geography as a branch of education in which a close-fitting and smooth transition is possible between primary and secondary schools, and between primary and technical schools. It is also a very marked instance of how this practical correlation of curricula in Ireland was quite neglected in the past. In France and in Germany, official opinion on this junction of studies between different grades of schools was quite frank down to the close of the Great War. No co-ordination of studies was arranged for, because no transit of students from primary to secondary schools was desired. Technical schools, too, desired to draw students from

continuation schools, or if at all possible, from secondary schools, and at an age later than the close of the primary course : close adjustment to the latter was quite undesired.

In Ireland, however, we were treated several times a year, by public orators on educational topics, to discourses on the importance of co-ordination and correlation. These pronouncements became quite grandiose when the Department of Technical Instruction emerged into being in 1899, and stretched out its grasp towards both secondary and primary education. It was soon quite plain that what was sought was absorption and control, not adjustment of studies. Nothing was ever done towards making the separate curricula fit together at suitable junction points. The constitution of the Committee on Co-ordination, legally devised in 1899, proved that the new Government Board was bent on making itself the master of all the other Boards. After the nature of their kind, these latter groups made a prolonged and successful resistance, and the intruding constrictor was beaten off. The Committee never met, and the result of these inter-official raids and alarms was that the adjustment of studies was never secured. In Arithmetic, English, Music, Drawing, most of all in such obviously favourable branches as History and Geography, there was complete dislocation between the Primary and all other types of schools. There was in consequence great and unavoidable waste of effort, both by teachers and by pupils in secondary and in technical schools, into which those scholars came in large numbers who had completed the primary stage of education. Towards the avoidance of that waste, which could easily have been remedied, three large bodies of Commissioners, Boards and Officials did nothing, and did it with their eyes quite open.

The proper remedy can easily be illustrated from the subject of Geography. The choice of matter for study, in the concluding two years of the Primary Course and in the opening two years of the Secondary Course (12

to 14 years), should coincide. It is an obvious consequence that if a Secondary School takes pupils at an age previous to 12 years, its initial work in Geography should be as in primary schools. This very simple and obvious arrangement has many advantages. It enables a smooth transit of pupils from the Primary to the Secondary side at any age, practically, up to and including the fourteenth year. This adjustable transit is very necessary in the case of Ireland, where the Primary Schools have always been, in a real way, the schools of the whole people; but where the opportunities, local and financial, of secondary education are still very variable. The use of this 'spliced curriculum' would also open up a good deal of work in the junior classes of secondary schools to trained primary teachers, and would enable State grants to be given in the preparatory departments of these secondary schools, on an equitable public basis and principle. The promotion of teaching through Irish, as a vehicular and vernacular language, would also be helped greatly by the free use, for that end, of a common curriculum in Geography. No other subject of the whole course of general education is as suitable as Geography for training in a new vernacular. It affords a wide variety of familiar matter, with easy connections leading into new ideas and terms. It can be visualised in a very large number of attractive ways. It offers ample scope for collective exercises, and can readily be utilised for dramatic treatment. In all these, speech—descriptive and conversational—is more appropriately present than in any other subject of general study.

The four year course of Geography at the opening of secondary education (12–16 years) thus naturally falls into two equal sections. The first two years, coincident with the closing years of the primary course, should obviously have Ireland as a central topic. No other choice would be adequate on the primary side, for the ideas and facts thus assured to all scholars are essential

for citizenship and for personal equipment in a democratic State. The handling of the Geography of Ireland, too, needs a marked reform at this period. To enter into specific detail on this would not be feasible without digression from the lines of this article; but one leading alteration may be indicated, as it would seek to correct not alone the subject-matter taught, but also the mental attitude of the teacher.

The Geography manuals too often used in Ireland have descended from the text-books devised fifty years ago in England, when the doctrines and the point of view of the Manchester School of Economics widely prevailed. In the eyes of its writers, thinkers, teachers, it was the big factory town that mattered. Its growing population was a clear index of progress and happiness. The countryside, where food was produced, counted for little: in England, this was accentuated, because the factory class in the State was set against the agricultural population, and wanted imports of food rather than home farming. Ship-building centres were "featured" in school geographies: they were analogous to factory cities. The egg-producing population passed unnoticed, though, as in the comparison of Belfast with the rest of Ireland recently made, egg-production in Ireland does more for national income, for suitable human activity, and for widespread service, than the "massed" industry of ship-building. The rural industries of all modern countries are politically less influential than those of urban areas: the population is more scattered, less easily organised and concentrated on an issue. There is less place for the rural element in the geography text-book, which unconsciously reflects political and organised humanity. In it the things that have mattered are towns, cities, massed activities.

For the good of the Irish people this policy should be reversed. A regional treatment of the country, directed towards the land and its uses, can be made, on the basis

of structural geography, to yield abundance of varied and practical matter. The region round Dublin, for instance, has the contrasts of use of the soil, of population, of trained skill, which are presented by Meath and Wicklow, North and South Kildare, by tillage and grazing, by dairy farming and by the growing of root crops, and in many other ways. Dublin County, outside the metropolitan ring of five miles beyond the streets, presents a distinct branch for classification, and division: it includes mountain and plain. So does Wicklow. The junctions of a river system, in relation to the use and value of land, are the important ones: its scientific and industrial aspects are for the future rather than for the present, but need treatment also. That growth of population in a city can be a national loss, may even be a distinct symptom of national disease, can easily be shown from the case of Dublin; the lesson can be enhanced by reference to the position of Vienna in Austria, and of Melbourne and Sydney in Australia. Healthy growth, such as is seen in such Irish towns as Tralee and Newry, or in the urban centres of Denmark, is also frequent in modern times.

For all these issues, requiring such careful discrimination and classification, the Manchester School, real authors of the teaching of Geography in English, had one judgment process. Concentrated population counted: mass production impressed: big financial returns, represented by the movement of trade in a port, signified human well-being and civilisation. The ultimate insolence came in discourses on the infant mortality of Ireland, though the infant death rate of Dundee, for instance, vastly exceeded that of Donegal, as did that of Manchester surpass that of Mayo. The first duty of the teacher of real geography, in the closing years of the primary school of Ireland, is to get rid of English standards and points of view. If a foreign standard is desired, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland can give

us what will be of durable value. But we will do much better, if we develop our own scale of human and economic values, and apply them in teaching Geography no less than in handling History.

Another type of English device in the methods of teaching Geography comes up for consideration when we pass to the consideration of the suitable subject matter for the school years which follow the close of the primary period, that is, for pupils 14 to 16 years of age. During the past twenty years, a new treatment has become widely current in England, which has made geography a very technical and professional study there. The mathematical and geological aspects of the subject have become greatly exaggerated, when we bear in mind that secondary education is a general education for civic ends, and that professional skill is not to be expected during it, nor in any way aimed at. There is no appropriateness in treating geography, by a multitude of detailed exercises, as if it were to produce for us trained harbour pilots, or ordnance surveyors, or structural engineers, or mining experts. In many English schools this inordinate and premature development of the technical aspects of a useful general subject has made it the dominant branch in the curriculum. The exorbitance of this growth will be evident to anyone who examines the subjects dealt with in recent years in such a periodical as *The Geographical Teacher*, or the type of work indicated in the University of London Matriculation, Oxford Local, and Cambridge Local Examinations. Some portions of their work, especially in economic and racial geography, are distinctly valuable. The other work, highly specialised, is quite out of place in a secondary course, save by way of summary explanation.

The suitable study for pupils in Ireland, 14 to 16 years of age, is the World, viewed especially in comparison with Ireland. The place and work of the small state, now and in the future, should become prominent. The

worship of imperial and centralised organisation, a natural outcome of the Manchester doctrines, is already greatly shaken, though it makes unexpected sallies in belated lamentations over the presumed fate and fortunes of the Celtic peoples at home and abroad. Those who adopt the crude racial and political creeds of Mommsen and of Macaulay afford no safe guidance as to the proper tone and outlook of education in Ireland. Imperialism, whether in Germany or in France, in Russia or in the United States, has not been conspicuously beneficial to human life; and its note is not wanted in Geography, essentially a human branch of knowledge. What we do need is a sustained measuring of ourselves with other national units, most of them quite comparable to ourselves: from them we can in economic and cultural activities learn many valuable and practical lessons, yet acquire also, in no small measure, materials for national self-respect.

The comparative treatment of Geography is then most called for, when the power of intellectual judgment, the ability to do sustained reasoning, is well awake and is looking for work. It would not be a well-balanced programme that would direct these activities to literature and to mathematics alone. Geography so treated can derive valuable assistance on the side of economic production, from a general course in elementary science, biological, chemical, and physical, which should also be an essential element in general education from twelve to sixteen years of age. At no stage in this course should the use of Ireland as a basis of comparison be weakened. The second two years of the four years' general course should call up the Irish subject matter of the first two years at every point. Ireland is a basis, not a starting point: it is too often dealt with and left aside. The result is that the educated Irish citizen's knowledge of his own country, at the present day, is as a rule only a child's knowledge. This is a direct result of the curricu-

lum imposed on Irish Secondary Schools for the past forty years: a programme that betrays an utter lack of unity, constructive principle, and national purpose. To give effectiveness and national value to the study of Geography, it is necessary to direct it towards a definite civic end. The doctrine that knowledge is its own end, even if limited to general education, was always incomplete and inadequate, and is now happily out of date.

Beyond the age of sixteen years (the true limit of general education, as is clearly shown both by renaissance and by mediæval school organisation) a choice of subjects, in coherent groups, should be strongly encouraged. At this stage there is a need of selection, but specialisation, the true function of the University, is not yet in view. Under a selective system the curriculum from 16 to 18 years of age will not, of course, look to geography as being an essential subject of study. But if a liberal variety of matter in the elective subject of Geography is allowed, it can be expected that it will frequently be chosen. It can thus be fashioned so as to accord with classical studies, centering round the Midland Seas of the Eastern hemisphere. Taken with History of the 16th to the 18th Century, it can be handled in its sources, the collections of documents on exploration and discovery, and can initiate into the valuable study of modern colonisation, creator of the modern slave trade. If the same line of work were used towards the awakening of students of the classical languages, it would be no inconsiderable gain: hitherto these subjects have been looked at through the eyes of the ruling and exploiting class, and classical geography has become an appendage to wars of conquest. It should rather be the basis of a treatment of industry, liberal and servile.

The school which turns—and it is to be hoped that many schools will turn—to the example given by modern France, will combine modern economic history and modern economic geography. In this splendid field for

fruitful ideas, Ireland will take a very considerable place. The examination of the emigration from European lands as a great event in modern world history, can be viewed historically, racially and economically. From all three points of view its present and future significance is almost impossible to exaggerate. In all respects Ireland is profoundly involved in such a course of study, and in a way far more worthy than is indicated in the jibing phrase of Emerson, who in 1850 wrote of Germany and Ireland as furnishing manuring material for superior racial cultures. In a word, world issues emerge from the consideration of modern Ireland as a geographical factor in the modern world, just as, to the seeing eye, they are vitally present in modern Irish history. We are fully entitled to view other countries with special reference to ourselves, in all the three aspects mentioned: and when we reflect on the very practical and very varied treatment thus secured for such regions as the Argentine and the Mississippi Valley, Western Canada and Denmark; for international communications; for the relation of urban concentration and rural dispersion; for industry on the Clyde and on the Hudson, it cannot be said that the adoption of the national treatment of Geography, at all stages of a general education, would lead to an injurious narrowness of outlook.

T. Corcoran.

THE PROBLEM OF PARTITIONED IRELAND

BY KEVIN R. O'SHIEL

Director of the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau.

MODERN Ireland presents one of the most curious political incongruities in history. Here is the spectacle of a compact self-contained island, clearly marked out by the laws of nature and economics for uniformity, and peopled by a mixed race of the same dominant Celtic strain, yet at present sharply divided into two separate and arbitrarily selected political entities by a boundary line which seldom, in its course of over 250 miles, corresponds with any natural or economic local division. And this strange partition is still further emphasised by the fact that, whilst the greater part of Ireland is ruled entirely from Dublin, the six North-Eastern Counties, although they possess a small local diet with very limited powers, are subject ultimately in every respect to the Parliament of Great Britain at Westminster.

The proposal of Partition first took concrete shape in the Amending Bill foreshadowed in a speech by Mr. Asquith on March 9, 1914. This Bill provided that any County or County Borough in Ulster should be permitted to vote itself out of the jurisdiction of the Home Rule Act for a period of six years. This meant in effect the temporary exclusion of the Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry, with the Borough of Belfast, but not the Borough of Londonderry. The proposal was immediately attacked by the Unionists mainly because of the time limit, Sir Edward Carson characterising it as "a sentence of death with a stay of execution for six years."

The Amending Bill returned from the House of Lords with the time limit struck out and the area for exclusion made the whole Province of Ulster.

Then followed the famous Buckingham Palace Conference between the Liberal, Unionist, Nationalist and Ulster-Unionist Parties, which met under the Chairmanship of the Speaker in July, 1914. After four days' deliberation it broke down in connection with the claim of both Irish Parties to the Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh.

After the Rising of Easter Week, 1916, another attempt was made by the British Government to give immediate effect to the Home Rule Act, but to exclude its operations for the duration of the War from the four Unionist Counties and also the two Nationalist Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. In this sense it was accepted unwillingly by the Irish Parliamentary Party and, after great difficulty, by a majority of a Convention of Nationalists of the Six Counties held in Belfast on June 23rd. Sir Edward Carson too admitted the hard task he had in persuading the Ulster Unionist Council to agree to this proposal, which would have the effect of causing them to break their solemn Covenant oaths. The subsequent events are still fresh in the public mind. This effort on the part of the Irish Party dealt a fatal blow to its prestige in the country.

I pass over the Lloyd George Convention of 1917, as Sinn Fein, then the dominant Party in the country, refused to have anything to do with it, and it thus could not be said to be representative of national feeling.

Partition never came as a proposal from any Irish Party. It was purely an English compromise to find a temporary way out of a deadlock. It was thus that it was eventually carried into effect by the enactment of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. This Act was passed by British votes at a time when the vast bulk of the Irish Members were withdrawn from Westminster,

when most of them were in prison with thousands of their constituents, and in spite of the vehement and indignant protests of the small remnant of the Nationalist Party which remained and of the abstention from voting of the Ulster Unionists.

It will be noted that in this Act the area to be excluded (which, as has been pointed out, was the vital point of dispute in every previous attempt at Partition) was now decided entirely in favour of the Ulster Unionists, despite the admission of the Prime Minister before the introduction of the Bill that there was strong and valid objection to the Six North-Eastern Counties as a Unit. "There are solid Catholic communities," declared Mr. Lloyd George in that speech, "in at least two of these counties which are co-terminous with the southern population."

Partition was carried in complete disregard of the wishes of Ireland, at a time when a state of warfare existed in the country and when the people of Ireland had repudiated Government from Westminster. Hence when the Treaty negotiations between Great Britain and Ireland were opened in July, 1921, one of the great fundamental points insisted on most strongly by our Plenipotentiaries was the imperative need for the recognition of the fact of National Union in some form of settlement. The justice of the Irish case was accepted towards the end of the negotiations by the British Plenipotentiaries, and we find Mr. Lloyd George, about three weeks before the signature of the Treaty, pointing out to Sir James Craig with great force and clearness the difficulties and dangers of Partition.

> All experience proves [he writes to the Belfast Premier] that so complete a Partition of Ireland as you propose must militate with increasing force against that ultimate unity which you yourself hope will one day be possible. The existing state of Central and South-Eastern Europe is a terrible example of the evils which spring from the creation of new frontiers, cutting the natural circuits of commercial activity; but when once such frontiers are established, they harden into permanence. Your proposal would

stereotype a frontier based neither upon natural features nor broad geographical considerations by giving it the character of an international boundary. Partition on these lines the majority of the Irish people will never accept, nor could we conscientiously attempt to enforce it. It would be fatal to that purpose of a lasting settlement on which these negotiations from the very outset have been steadily directed.

It is plain from this correspondence with Sir James Craig, of which the above is a typical quotation, that the British Government at that period were convinced of the folly of creating a settlement which would stereotype Partition, and that they considered the establishment of an All-Ireland Parliament an urgent necessity.

These proposals were all flatly rejected by the Northern Government (which was not and could not be a principal to the negotiations by reason of its inferior status), and the Plenipotentiaries of the two Nations were thereupon driven to devise the best possible plans, under the circumstances, for meeting the "non possumus" attitude of Belfast.

The Irish statesmen who concluded the Treaty of London with the British Government have been bitterly reproached by indignant but unthinking persons for having "stereotyped Partition" and "signed away the unity of Ireland for all time." This they never did.

When the Conference met in London the situation in the major portion of the country, which was under the effective control of the Dáil, was very different from the situation in the six counties, which had been wrongfully placed under the Belfast Parliament. The inhabitants of the major portion of the country were demanding national political freedom, and in so far as this was secured by the Treaty they would be satisfied. The situation in the North was much more difficult. The Treaty-makers were faced with two facts: first, that the Belfast Parliament, though wrongfully created, was at the time in existence, and second, that all national parties had agreed that coercion would not be used in order to compel the areas

then represented in that Parliament to come under the authority of the Dáil. This had been agreed to, because it was felt that force could never produce real union. The Treaty-makers marked out a road to union which, though it might be longer, would lead to a more lasting and real union whenever it could be achieved.

The Treaty itself recognised the essential unity of Ireland and, consequently, the *de jure* authority of the Irish Parliament over the whole country. Influential Unionists of the North-East felt that at the time of the signing of the Treaty a road to union had been provided which they must inevitably have followed. How that road was obstructed will never be fully understood until the secret history of that tragic period comes to be written. The outbreak of the Anti-Treaty Party blocked, for a time at least, the movement towards union inaugurated by the Treaty and left the Government of the Saorstát the heavy task of bridging a great gulf of distrust between North and South.

I now come to the particular provisions in the Treaty for dealing with the special conditions in the North-East which existed prior to the conclusion of that instrument. The Treaty gave the Parliament of Northern Ireland a choice between two courses :—

(*a*) either to remain within the Free State (in which it was included by the Treaty in the first instance) with all the special local autonomy delegated to the entire area by the 1920 Act preserved intact, but sending representatives to the National Parliament in Dublin instead of to Westminster;

(*b*) to exclude itself from the Free State, in which case the following provisions in Article 12 were to come into operation :—"*A Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland,*

> *and one who shall be Chairman, to be appointed by the British Government, shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act,* 1920, *the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.*"

The motive underlying Article 12 is plain. The Government of Northern Ireland had been offered many inducements to remain in the Free State, including that of retaining an area larger than that to which it was in justice entitled. The religious minority it represented were given terms more remarkable than those ever before offered to any religious minority of a nation, empowering them if they so wished to cut off the areas they were supposed to represent from the Irish Nation and connect it politically with the entirely different and more complex entity of Great Britain, from which nature itself has separated the whole of Ireland by many miles of sea.

During the recent Lausanne negotiations with the Turks Lord Curzon, who represented the British Government, proposed as a panacea for the appalling sufferings of the Christians under that non-Christian government, that they should be granted autonomy under the Turkish flag. No British Government ever put forward as a serious proposal to Kemal Pasha (as it was put to us) that the solution of their religious question could only be arrived at by the secession from the Turkish Nation of those areas containing religious minorities.

The proposal of Lord Curzon was promptly turned down by the Turkish Government, who asserted that if the Christian minorities in Turkey wanted relief, they had no right to go with their complaints to outside sources, but should deal directly with the central Turkish authority. Nobody challenged the rights of the Turkish Government

in this connection, and nothing further was heard about safeguarding those little Christian republics that had been created by allied diplomacy during the war. Therefore whilst autonomy under the " terrible Turk " is considered good enough for persecuted Christians in a great non-Christian country, secession is the only remedy for un-persecuted religious minorities in Christian Ireland.

On December 7, 1922, the Parliament of Northern Ireland exercised its right under the first part of Article 12 and opted out of the jurisdiction of Saorstát Eireann. The second part of that Article thus becomes operative.

The circumstances which made the insertion of the Boundary Commission clause imperative were fully recognised by Mr. Lloyd George. Speaking in the House of Commons seven days after the signing of the Treaty he said, explaining the provisions of Article 12 :—

> There is no doubt certainly since the Act of 1920 that the majority of the people of the two Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh prefer being with their Southern neighbours to being in the Northern Parliament. Take it either by constituency or by Poor Law Union or, if you like, by counting heads, and you will find that the majority in those two counties prefer to be with their Southern neighbours. What does that mean ? If Ulster is to remain a separate community you can only by means of coercion keep them there, and although I am out against the coercion of Ulster, I do not believe in Ulster coercing other units.

He went on to point out that the retention of those counties by the Government of Northern Ireland would be a constant source of trouble to its administration, similar to the trouble which the British had in the rest of Ireland.

This concise and forceful expression of opinion was delivered to a full House of Commons, including most of the Ulster Unionist Members and their leaders ; yet it is remarkable, in the light of Sir James Craig's subsequent protest, that no member of that Party nor of any other party challenged the Prime Minister's explanation of the Boundary Commission provisions of the Treaty. The

Boundary Commission was provided for, in order to ensure that the new doctrine of partition would be carried to its ultimate and logical ends. It was laid down that the districts containing a majority of Unionists in the North-East should have the right to decide under which Government they would live; therefore justice dictated that the districts containing a majority of Nationalists were also entitled to a precisely similar right.

Now let me turn to an examination of the real position of the Six North-Eastern Counties and their relationship with the rest of Ireland. The statistics of inhabitants that follow are shown in accordance with the census of their religious opinions, "Catholics" being regarded as on the side of the Free State and "Non-Catholics" as on the side of the Northern Parliament. Such a classification is only approximately accurate, since it is known that many Protestants in the North-East are in favour of a central Irish Parliament, while very few Catholics, if any, are in favour of Partition.

The population of the whole of Ireland as revealed by the last census amounted to a total of 4,390,219, of which 73·86 per cent. were Catholics and 26·14 per cent. were Non-Catholics. In the nine Counties of the Province of Ulster there was a total of 1,581,696 persons, of whom 690,816 or 43·67 per cent. were Catholics and 890,880 or 56·33 per cent. were Non-Catholics.

In the Six Separated Counties the wishes of the inhabitants are as follows:—Of a total population of 1,250,531 persons 430,161 or 34·39 per cent. are Catholics and opposed to the Government in Belfast, under which they are now compelled against their wishes to live; 820,370 or 65·61 are Non-Catholics and presumably largely supporters of the Northern Government. In the present area of the Northern Parliament there are two counties and one County Borough which have big majorities in favour of returning to the jurisdiction of the Saorstát. The County Tyrone, which is the largest in area of the

Six Counties, has a pro-Free State majority of 15,365 out of a total population of 142,665 ; the County Fermanagh has a similar majority of 7,644 out of a total of 61,836, and in the County Borough of Londonderry the majority is 5,066 out of a total of 40,780.

These figures show one outstanding fact, namely, that in the whole of Ireland at the time of this census 26·14 per cent. of the population formed a minority of potential opponents to an All-Ireland Parliament, whilst in the whole of the Six Counties no less than 34·39 per cent. of the inhabitants are irreconcilable opponents of Partition. If, therefore, the principle of exclusion from the Nation was accepted for the national minority of 26 per cent., how much stronger is the case for the exclusion from the jurisdiction of the lately erected Northern Parliament of the strong local minority of 34 per cent. in the separated Counties ?

The Boundary Commission as provided by the Treaty has been modelled upon some of the famous continental boundary precedents. Its terms of reference are almost identical with various clauses contained in the Treaty of Versailles, notably those dealing with the division of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland. It differs however in two respects from the continental precedents—viz., there is no time limit specified and there is no particular method prescribed for ascertaining " the wishes of the inhabitants." The reason for the latter omission was due to the general agreement amongst the plenipotentiaries that the wishes of the inhabitants had been already many times well and accurately ascertained by several elections to the satisfaction of both Nationalists and Unionists, and that therefore plebiscite arrangements would be both superfluous and expensive. However, in the event of a dispute arising in the Commission as to the " wishes of the inhabitants " in certain areas, the only way out of such a deadlock would be to resort to the plebiscite on the just principle of the Versailles

models—viz., adult franchise under neutral protection. Whether a plebiscite is resorted to or not, undoubtedly the best all round unit from whatever standpoint it is considered—wishes of the inhabitants, geographic or economic—is that of the Poor Law Union. In its general characteristics it is not unlike the continental "commune," which was accepted as the transferable unit in the Boundary Commissions that operated under the Versailles Treaty.

The Poor Law Unions of the Six Counties show the following results :—

Poor Law Unions with Majorities for inclusion in the Free State.

Unions.	Average Valuation per head.	Area.	Population.	
			For Free State.	For Belfast Parliament.
	£ s. d.	acres.	per cent.	per cent.
Crossmaglen	2 9 8	35,793	7,754 (82·1)	1,687 (17·9)
Kilkeel ...	2 19 1	81,954	10,001 (55·3)	8,076 (44·7)
Newry ...	3 11 9	138,029	32,969 (66·7)	16,425 (33·3)
Irvinestown ...	3 12 5	116,360	8,077 (54·4)	6,762 (45·6)
Enniskillen ...	4 4 6	157,143	12,501 (52·6)	11,256 (47·4)
Lisnaskea ...	3 16 3	144,409	14,162 (60·9)	9,078 (39·1)
Londonderry	2 19 11	85,988	29,838 (54·1)	25,355 (45·9)
Magherafelt ...	2 12 4	157,233	19,139 (53·0)	16,968 (47·0)
Castlederg ...	2 8 6	91,833	5,668 (50·8)	5,493 (49·0)
Clogher ...	3 15 1	89,336	6,982 (50·8)	6,762 (49·2)
Cookstown ...	3 0 8	96,943	11,489 (51·0)	11,027 (49·0)
Dungannon ...	3 14 0	110,375	15,868 (52·5)	14,382 (47·5)
Omagh ...	3 6 5	254,014	24,672 (61·1)	15,683 (38·9)
Strabane ...	2 18 10	137,062	14,336 (58·2)	10,303 (41·8)
Total	£3 5 7	1,696,472	213,456 (57·3)	159,257 (42·7)

POOR LAW UNIONS WITH MAJORITIES FOR EXCLUSION FROM THE FREE STATE.

Unions.	Average Valuation. per head.	Area.	Population.	
			For Free State.	For Belfast Parliament.
	£ s. d.	acres.	per cent.	per cent.
Antrim ...	4 9 9	117,225	4,901 (16·3)	25,149 (83·7)
Ballycastle ...	3 19 1	102,643	5,717 (46·9)	6,476 (53·1)
Ballymena ...	2 19 0	161,301	8,212 (17·0)	40,203 (83·0)
Ballymoney	3 14 9	121,510	5,294 (19·3)	22,130 (80·7)
Belfast ...	3 17 3	49,658	97,096 (23·8)	311,457 (76·2)
Larne ...	4 1 3	118,040	6,196 (18·0)	28,218 (82·0)
Lisburn ...	4 6 0	131,371	8,100 (16·4)	41,246 (83·6)
Lurgan ...	3 1 7	67,603	14,023 (27·7)	36,568 (72·3)
Armagh ...	4 12 7	146,624	19,249 (43·6)	24,860 (56·4)
Banbridge ...	4 2 6	125,205	10,115 (25·2)	30,016 (74·8)
Downpatrick	4 13 8	148,114	19,229 (49·1)	19,967 (50·9)
Newtownards	4 3 5	94,352	3,164 (7·1)	41,176 (92·9)
Coleraine ...	3 10 5	118,894	6,486 (21·7)	23,469 (78·3)
Limavady ...	3 13 4	152,958	8,923 (46·7)	10,178 (53·3)
TOTAL ...	£3 18 2	1,655,498	216,705 (24·6)	661,113 (75·3)

From these tables it will be seen that of the 28 Poor Law Unions within the Six Counties no less than half (14) have no majorities in favour of reincorporation in the Free State. A Boundary line drawn in accordance with the Poor Law Unions as a unit would transfer to the Free State 1,696,472 additional acres and 372,713 additional inhabitants, of whom 213,456 or nearly 60 per cent. would be contents, and 159,257 or over 40 per cent. could be regarded as non-contents. It would leave under the Belfast Parliament 1,655,498 acres inhabited by 877,818 persons, of whom 661,113 or 75·3 per cent. would be contents and 216,705 or 24·6 per cent. would be non-contents, which would be practically the same proportion as existed at the time Partition was established between the minority and the majority religions in All-Ireland.

A division on the basis of Poor Law Unions, according to the last census, would have the effect of restoring to the Saorstát the entire Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh, all South County Armagh, and all the Southern and Eastern

parts of the County Down, as well as the County Borough of Londonderry. On any of the remaining possible units—1918 parliamentary constituencies, P.R. parliamentary constituencies, County Electoral Divisions, District Electoral Divisions or townlands—the Free State stands to gain very considerable transfers of population and areas. Curiously enough, amongst the units least advantageous to the Free State is that of the County. On this basis Tyrone and Fermanagh would come in with a combined area of 1,197,475 acres and population of just on 200,000. The last attempt at anything in the nature of a plebiscite in the Six Counties occurred in the constituency composed of these two counties just a year ago. In spite of great intimidation in parts of the constituency the voting in those two counties, which together constitute more than one-third of the total area of the Six Counties, clearly shows the wishes of the inhabitants to be overwhelmingly in favour of inclusion in the Saorstát. It was as follows :—

Harbison	(pro-Free State)	..	45,236
Healy	(pro-Free State)	..	44,817
Allen	(Partitionist) ..	..	38,589
Pringle	(Partitionist) ..	..	38,640
Majority of Harbison over Allen ..			6,647
Majority of Healy over Pringle ..			6,177

As it was a double constituency the two Anti-Partition candidates were duly declared elected. Mr. Healy, M.P., a strong supporter of the Treaty, has been for the past 18 months incarcerated with large numbers of other Treaty supporters on board the Northern Government's prison ship *Argenta* in Larne Harbour.

In transfers of population to the Saorstát that must take place on the basis of any of these units it is true that there will be a considerable number of Northern Government supporters included. On the other hand there will also be great numbers of pro-Free State people left behind in the re-adjusted Northern area. These contingencies are unfortunate ; but they are unavoidable under the circumstances.

But what have those discontented sections of populations transferable by the Commission to the Saorstát to fear ? Their co-religionists over the border in Counties Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan have uttered no words of reproach or complaint against the new régime. They had it in their power at the last election to put forward candidates definitely representing the minorities, who would undoubtedly have been returned on the broad and comprehensive scheme of P.R. that obtains in the Free State, but they did not do so. On the contrary, any of them who contested the election did so under the aegis of one or other of the various national political parties—Cumann na Gaedhael, Farmers, Labour or Independent. If those Unionists who are obliged to come into the Free State as a result of the decision of the Boundary Commission have any misgiving about their treatment let the evidence of their own co-religionists in the Free State hearten them. Mr. Knight, the Grand Master of the County Monaghan Orangemen, addressing the Orangemen of Monaghan on July 12, 1923, said :—

> We meet in a law-abiding, orderly way, and in exercise of our civil and religious liberties, and I am glad to say that the forebodings of a handful of dissatisfied people have proved groundless.

A month later, when President Cosgrave was addressing an election meeting in Monaghan, the Deputy County Grand Master of the Orange Order was amongst his supporters on the platform.

There is also, quite recently, the valuable and courageous testimony of the Rev. Mr. French, formerly Rector of Aughnacloy, Co. Tyrone, and now Rector of Dunany Parish in the Co. Louth. In the course of his farewell speech to his old parishioners the Rev. Gentleman said :—

> Some people had asked him if he was not afraid to go and live in the Free State, but he would say he had been resident in the Free State now for some time, and he had received since he went there the most consistent kindness, extraordinary kindness, he might say, for anyone going from the Six Counties. Members of the Catholic Church had stopped him on the road in Co. Louth and

welcomed him to the Free State. He further declared that he had made up his mind, if he left Aughnacloy, that he would never take another parish in the six Counties.

No, the people of the Protestant faith who come into the Free State by reason of the findings of the Boundary Commission have nothing to fear on account of their religion or their politics. The safeguards in the constitution for minorities will operate in their favour, and nothing will be done to abolish the P.R. system of voting, to gerrymander the areas of their local strongholds, or to interfere with religious teaching in their schools.

It is greatly to be regretted, in the interests of peace, that Sir James Craig acquiesced in the long list of penalising legislation directed against the rights of the great Catholic minority in the Six Counties which was unanimously passed through the Belfast Parliament last year. He had a fine opportunity to prove his toleration and display courageous statesmanship in dealing with these large minorities in his area, but he did not seize it. The result is that the Six-County Catholics are now more bitterly opposed and more irreconcilable than ever before to the Northern Government.

What of the future of Partitioned Ireland? Even after the Boundary Commission the problem will not have been settled, although the situation will be greatly relieved and the way paved for a more harmonious understanding between the two Governments, which must ultimately lead to national union.

KEVIN R. O'SHIEL.

THE ACTOR AND THE DRAMATIST

BY PETER MCBRIEN.

IN what relation does the actor stand to the dramatist? It is time for us to ask the question, for in no art, not even painting, have such revolutionary theories been formulated and put into practice, such intense interest shown the world over, such money spent, and lastly, if we are to believe Mr. Lennox Robinson, such enthusiasm displayed all through Ireland, as in the art of the theatre.

Striving in diametrically opposite directions on either side of what the average man regards as a good play there are two schools: the Actualists and the Expressionists. A good play, in the average man's vocabulary and mine, is an ably written drama, produced by an up-to-date and experienced producer who has plenty of capital at his back, with an even cast. Some years ago in Dublin that master of stage *décor*, Oscar Asche, produced, and took part in the acting of, *Othello*. Lily Brayton was Desdemona. I have seen Sarah Bernhardt, Réjane, Marie Tempest, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and, with the possible exception of Sarah Allgood when she was in good form in *Riders to the Sea*, I have never seen acting so good as Lily Brayton's as Desdemona, nor have I ever seen an audience so poignantly affected at any time or anywhere as was that Dublin audience that looked on at her Desdemona that night. The company, too, was an all-round one. The scenery was rich, and carried out with meticulous attention to detail. The drama itself

as a piece of literature is regarded as a masterpiece. Such a drama, so produced, so acted, is what I call here a good or a normal play. In such a normal play the conception of the playwright, I hold, dominates everything. Crudely put, the process is something like this: the playwright looks at a given sector of life, sees its beauty, expresses that beauty in words, passes on his expression to the producer who, to carry that expression to a number of people, devises a setting for it and picks out a suitable cast Everyone is subordinate to the playwright.

With the two revolutionary schools of Expressionism and Actualism the playwright is nowhere.

When you strip these schools of the polysyllabic jargon it is the fashion to wrap them up in, their aim and scope become clear enough. Another name for Expressionist acting is Presentational, as distinguished from ordinary acting in a normal play, which is representational. That is, an ordinary play is the picture or representation of something that may be supposed to have happened, whereas the Presentational play is, as it were, a series of incidents met with at first hand as in real life. It is like an introduction in real life. You are to imagine the producer coming forward and saying to you: "Permit me to introduce to you Miss Sarah Allgood: she will give you an idea of the sense of loss that accompanies the death of a relation: she is charming: she will enthral you." I have before me an advertisement in a newspaper which runs: "Strand. Tues. 8.15. Charles B. Cochran presents PAULINE LORD in *Anna Christie* by Eugene O'Neill." Now, the splendid drama of this young Irish-American is normal, healthy work, and the polar opposite of Expressionism; moreover, from what I have read of Pauline Lord, she would seem to be a highly gifted actress in the accepted tradition. Yet the tendency of the producer is unmistakable: Pauline Lord is the only name in capitals; you are introduced to a personality rather than a play.

It is the star who brings the crowds to a film.

To the glorification of the star and the corresponding depreciation of the playwright Expressionism inevitably lends itself. And this because the Expressionists are out for more action and less talk on the stage as a matter of course, the drama being more or less synoptical, little better than a screen scenario. *Angelo*, which in spite of the fine acting of Moscovitch and Moyna McGill has just been taken off at Drury Lane Theatre as a failure, is, among Expressionist experiments, the nearest approximation we know of to pure film work. In its production was utilised that mode of setting several scenes simultaneously on the stage, the one in use at a given moment being lit up while the others are left in darkness, so that there may be no intervals between the scenes. It was a fiasco. It had all the fatiguing hustle of the movies without their realism. It aimed at reproducing the passionate surge that moves incessantly over the groundswell of life; it achieved the fever of a cheap carnival. The conception of the playwright was not strong enough to give form to the production of the play. It had none of the warmth of natural dramatic genius which blossoms bravely up against the cast-iron logic of the reformers: "Am I to blame, Sir Peter," asks the delicious Lady Teazle, "because flowers are dear in cold weather?" And the weather was very cold in the Drury Lane parterre.

In spite of this tendency to glorify the star, Expressionism is hostile to the kinema.

It hates the concrete realism and the ugliness of the films. It seeks to stage abstractions, types, *genera*, like the Vice and his companions in the old Moralities. It presents *an* idea, whereas the normal play represents *the* idea of a dramatist. It presents an idea, say, of Love, Hate, Pride, with all the symbolism and beauty, or what it looks upon as Beauty, it can crowd on to the stage. It shudders at the sloppy and ugly emotional gesticu-

lations of the sentimentality with which "angel boys" and "strong, silent men" and sparsely clad Mayfair Magdalens on the screens wring out tears from the scullery maid culture of the kinema queues. For this it substitutes rhythm of gesture and enunciation and decoration. Every actor and actress must be trained to the last ounce. Every exteriority must be a faithful symbol of the soul, and the soul must be steeped in the idea it wants to express. In Expressionism then the producer comes first, the playwright last; or at least the playwright is put on the same level as the actor. As Foible says in Congreve's *Way of the World:* "A little art once made your picture like you, and now a little of the same art must make you like your picture." M. Tairov is the high-priest of this school; its temple is the Kamerny Theatre of Moscow; thus its aim has been stated, in a formula which is the reverse of that of the film-producer: "It is necessary to pare away the elements that bind us most closely to the physical in life."

There is much of tremendous spiritual significance beyond a doubt in the work of M. Tairov and his confrères as well as in the dramas of able men who, like Ernst Toller, accept their theories. But carry these theories to their logical conclusion and what have you? A dance executed by a genius like Anna Pavlova in a setting designed by a genius like Bakst with orchestral music composed by a genius like Stravinsky, all produced under the direction of a genius like Cecchetti. But still a dance and nothing more, and a dance or a ballet is not a play.

The school of Expressionism is, therefore, in part a consequence of the habit, which is debasing the modern theatre, of alluring audiences by the name of the actor instead of the name of the author. It is a habit which is the outcome of modern superficiality and vulgarity. It is putting the priest before the sacrifice. To grasp this clearly one must adopt certain net principles which, old as they are, we here repeat.

Life is truth. Truth is beauty. (To most people life is beautiful only in patches; genius is big enough to see the beauty of the whole design, to see it, not merely to believe that it is there.) Art interprets that beauty. There are five great arts: poetry, architecture, music (that is, the composition of music), sculpture, and painting. Playwriting belongs to the first of these five. All other arts, such as dancing, singing, or acting, are of their nature lower than, and subordinate to, these five.

One can imagine the stare Cicero would have given a critic had he dared to place Roscius on the same plane as Euripides. But skip the centuries and consider the work of another who was profoundly affected by the pathetic beauty of the tragedy of Iphigeneia. We mean Racine, one of the few great dramatists of the world. La Champmeslé was one of the best actresses of her day, if not the best. The classical outlook on the relation in which the actor stands in regard to the dramatist has been so neatly defined in this description of La Champmeslé's acting of Iphigeneia that we make no apology for quoting Boileau at such length :—

> Que tu sais bien, Racine, à l'aide d'un acteur,
> Emouvoir, étonner, ravir un spectateur !
> Jamais Iphigénie, en Aulide immolée,
> N'a coûté tant de pleurs à la Grèce assemblée
> Que dans l'heureux spectacle à nos yeux étalé
> En a fait, sous son nom, verser la Champmeslé.

Yes, it is Racine who moves, astonishes, ravishes the spectator, though an actress helps him to do so. And sometimes in spite of the actress. I defy a healthy human being not to laugh at *She Stoops To Conquer* done by a company of the poorest amateurs, for there is quintessential humour in every line of Goldsmith's masterpiece. It acts itself. I saw Sir Frank Benson and his company do it in Stratford in 1914, and the play electrified the actors and the spectators both, so charged it was with the fire and vitality of Goldsmith's genius.

The subservience of the actor to the dramatist is not affected by the fact that the latter is often of inferior talent to the former. The colt may have more brains than his jockey; still he is only a colt: he must go the road he's ridden. Some time ago I pointed out here that "a great actor often finds depths of wealth in the *dramatis personæ* that their creator himself never suspected." And recently a correspondent in the press, criticising adversely my views on the status of the actor, declared that in Coquelin's interpretation Rostand found the perfect embodiment of his Cyrano de Bergerac. There is no need to point out that Coquelin was a man of high genius, whereas the only thing Rostand, like his heroine Sarah Bernhardt, showed genius in was self-advertisement: it all simply amounts to this, that a cutter may act on a hint from one of his coatmakers. I have heard John McCormack sing Landon Ronald's *O Lovely Night*. It is no disparagement of Landon Ronald to say that he is not so fine a musician as the great singer; nevertheless in the rendering of that song, it is Landon Ronald who is the guiding mind: McCormack simply happens to be the perfect instrument of his self-expression. Nearly perfect, we should say; for, as in acting, so in music the execution never comes quite up to the conception in the mind of the composer. The pure and exquisite delight which a cultured musician gets from the perusal in his study of the score of one of Mozart's concertos can never be reached by listening to a rendition of it in a concert hall; then what of the original ideal in the mind of Mozart himself?

This modern exploitation of the actor's personality is box office business, not dramatic art. Good, healthy, normal dramatic art should be team-work, captained by the playwright.

This normal drama, we have already said, is representational: it is a picture of what was or what might have been. The explicit intrusion of the actor's personality (in which the audience might be said to be looking

on at real, not dramatic, life) is incongruous, like the placing of a real clay pipe in the painted portrait of a peasant, and essentially the same as the gags of a patter comedian. That is why it is such a torture to a refined playgoer to hear a storm of applause when, in the middle of the scene, the diva grimaces her thanks to people who should be looking at mannequins rather than listening to the music of a Gounod or Mozart. A man was shaking with laughter as he came with me out of a theatre. "You enjoyed the play?" I asked. "I wasn't looking at a play," he rebuked me: "I was looking at Arthur Sinclair." The rebuke was a just one. And here you have the reason why dramatists nowadays do without, so far as they can, those absurd asides with which the Farquhars, the Vanbrughs, and the Macklins, bent and twisted the framework of their plays down to the plane of actuality. (Art is more real than reality, more actual than actuality: its poetic justice strips life of accidentals: one would like to have space to develop this unanswerable impeachment of realism.) In the enunciation of these asides the actors, good actors, too, took their audiences into their confidence by changing their tone into one of intimacy. "Jack Palmer," says Charles Lamb, "had two voices—both plausible, hypocritical, and insinuating; but his secondary or supplemental voice still more decisively histrionic than his common one. It was reserved for the spectator; and the *dramatis personæ* were supposed to know nothing at all about it. The sentiments in Joseph Surface were thus marked out in a sort of italics to the audience. This secret correspondence with the company before the curtain (which is the bane and death of tragedy) has an extremely happy effect in some kinds of comedy, in the more highly artificial comedy of Congreve or of Sheridan especially." This is to sacrifice the greater pleasure to the less; to hurt the design for the sake of elaborating a part. And note Lamb's explanation: "You do not believe in such characters as Surface; if you did, they

would shock and not divert you." It is specious, but it is not sound reasoning. All comedy is founded on callousness, as Mr. G. K. Chesterton has pointed out, and if men saw everything in a cold, clear, intellectual light, there would be no more humour, it would all be dissolved in pity.

But the audience may be called upon for a different kind of co-operation.

In Actualism, the other revolutionary school of dramatic art, the aim oddly enough is to idealise the stage by making the audience take a part in the play, which should be enacted in the open air at a street corner or on a fair green. That would eliminate the box office entirely. It is a noble aim, but it would kill dramatic art, and reduce the stage to a platform for unseemly and hypocritical politico-religious apologetics. A play would be a grandiose demagogue's field day.

In a theatre there is no real illusion. But you must have mock illusion. The audience must enter the hall determined to imagine they are somewhere else than in Abbey Street, Dublin. It requires no great effort in a play like T. C. Murray's *Sovereign Love* or Synge's *Riders to the Sea*. With Sarah Allgood acting in it, you feel as if you were sitting on a stool in the corner of the cottage shaken by Atlantic gusts where Synge develops his tragedy. Remove the proscenium, place the actress in the centre of the parterre, and pouf! the art is gone: you are back in your childhood playing school, or visitor, or shopping—mere primitive simian mimicry. Or else you are affected by profound disgust as when you go behind and meet the chorus girl dream of loveliness grinning under her sad and repulsive mask of grease and paints. For when Horace said

Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet

he was not thinking so much of the filthiness of human blood (slave blood was cheap and ancient Romans were not over nice) or of the preciousness of life, but of the

shock to our sense of theatrical illusion. There was no such shock in the sight of men slain in the Colosseum: that was what the slaves were there for: not to deliver illusions, but the real goods: they got big salaries for it. Now, the Actualists have not the good sense of these ancient Romans: they confuse realism with reality, two very different things. In the production of Mayakowsky's *Mysteria Bouffe* under the auspices of the Soviet government they removed the proscenium, and encouraged the audience to take an actual part in the play. How could that be done? you ask, thinking of a play like *Sovereign Love*. Quite simply. The play represents the agony of the world from the Deluge to the establishment of the Workers' Paradise, and you, being an enfranchised worker, could take part with the other enfranchised workers in the cast in driving the evil ones out of Paradise.

Here then you have the reverse of that scene-shifting fever in *Angelo* at Drury Lane Theatre. But at both extremes the playwright is relegated to the background. From the epilogue which Garrick wrote for one of Arthur Murphy's comedies let me quote four lines of clean commonsense:

> Ye actors who act what these writers have writ,
> Pray stick to your poet, and spare your own wit,
> For when with your own you unbridle your tongue,
> I'll hold ten to one you are all in the wrong.

PETER MCBRIEN.

CHRONICLE

Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

PHILOSOPHY AND CIVILIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Maurice De Wulf. (London: Milford. 1922. 12*s.* 6*d.* net).

MEDIÆVAL PHILOSOPHY. By the same. (Milford. 1922. 8*s.* 6*d.* net).

S. THOMAS d'AQUIN. Par A.-D. Sertillanges. 2 vols. 3rd edition. (Paris: Alcan. 1922. 30*fr.*).

DUNS SCOT. Par Bernard Landry. (Paris: Alcan. 1922. 16*fr.*).

MELANGES THOMISTES. Publiés par les Dominicains de la Province de France. (Le Saulchoir, Kain (Belgique). 1923. 28*fr.*).

In his *Dichtung and Wahrheit* Goethe tells the story of his first entry into Strassburg Minster—"I seemed suddenly to see a new revelation; the perception of beauty in all its attractiveness was impressed on my soul." M. De Wulf, from whose *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages* I borrow the quotation, points the story's moral. Goethe had been educated in the traditions of Classicism: "among the detractors of Gothic architecture," as he phrases it himself. That revelation of the Minster's beauty opened a vista which led back, past the Renaissance, to mediæval art, and M. De Wulf reminds us that art is not the only legacy which we inherit from the Middle Ages. His book is a plea for Scholastic philosophy: that *sententia communis* which dominated European thought during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which, as he shows with singularly imaginative erudition, was rooted in a civilization that made both architecture and philosophy possible, even natural. Mediævalism is the fashion nowadays. Shall we learn to be mediæval in our thought as well as in our canons of art? The question sounds paradoxical enough; but the list of books that deal with mediæval philosophy grows yearly longer, and the volume from which I have quoted was first conceived as material for a course of lectures at Princeton University on the Louis Clark Vanuxem Foundation. Are the Old World and the New converging, to meet in the Middle Ages?

M. De Wulf's book has one great merit: it does not begin with an apology. Instead of assuring us that mediæval philosophy was really something more than the "handmaid of theology"; or of warning us not to confound out-of-date physical theories with the metaphysics of the School; or of reminding us that mediæval Latin is not precisely Ciceronian (for the matter of that, St. Thomas Aquinas is a great literary artist, in his theology as well as in his poetry); instead of explaining away the hundred and one prejudices that make the approach to mediæval philosophy so difficult, M. De Wulf without further preface bids us watch the intellect of Europe at work when Europe, as we know it to-day, was in the spring-time of its youth. For all Europe shared in the making of Scholastic philosophy, just as the life of a mediæval city is gathered up in its cathedral. France, of course, was the intellectual centre of this common effort: "To Italy the Papacy, to Germany the Empire, and to France learning." And "learning" means here "culture" in its widest sense. French artists were at this time elaborating the style of Gothic architecture, the courts of France were setting the standards of feudal chivalry; and Cistercian monks from Citeaux and Clairvaux were reforming the traditions of monastic life.

M. De Wulf is fond of these historical parallels, and they certainly give meaning to the intellectual hegemony of Paris. But it is possible to exaggerate the supremacy, if not the extent, of French influence, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The new mendicant friars, for example, were not French in origin, and France had no monopoly of European intellect. Paris was above all a meeting-place for strangers, and it is wonderful to note the community of mediæval thought. Spain is, perhaps, the only Latin country which lies apart from the general movement: yet it was through Spain that Arabian philosophy found its way into the West, and the Archbishop's palace in Toledo offered hospitality to scholars and translators from every part of Europe. Italy was France's greatest rival. Not that Bologna was the equal of Paris; but what other country had a trinity of thinkers to be compared with St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure and Dante? Germany, too, could claim Albertus Magnus, a giant among his contemporaries; whilst Norman England, not yet isolated from the main stream of European thought, produced a long line of eminent scholars and thinkers: John of Salisbury, Robert Grosseteste, Alexander of Hales, Roger Bacon and William of Ockham,—and Oxford educated Duns Scotus.

It would be tempting to linger over these purely historical

facts, questioning some of M. De Wulf's generalizations. How far, for example, is he justified in speaking of an "Anglo-Celt" contribution to Scholastic philosophy? Was Celtic civilization a factor in European thought during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? And is he right in his contention that, even thus early, German speculation failed to submit itself to the discipline of clear thought? These are some of the avenues down which one would gladly pursue his assumptions; but the chase would lead us away from the main purpose of his book. For M. De Wulf is mainly concerned to study certain metaphysical doctrines in the light of their social environment

Individualism is not a quality which we associate with the Middle Ages. Mediæval art is characteristically anonymous, and mediæval political theory lays an emphasis on the *bonum commune* which has been the comfort of many would-be Socialists. Yet the central doctrine of Scholastic philosophy teaches that the individual, as opposed to the universal, alone exists: *nihil est praeter individuum.* M. De Wulf states the dilemma, and solves it by pointing out the essential difference between modern conceptions of the State as a self-existing entity, and the sounder mediæval conception of a society composed of individuals, formed by them for their own good, and without any higher degree of existence than the *unitas ordinis* which makes social life possible, helping each member of the society to his own individual perfection. *Non enim cives propter consules nec gens propter regem, sed e converso,* writes Dante in his *De Monarchia;* and St. Thomas puts the same doctrine in more abstract terms: *Oportet eundem finem esse multitudinis humanae qui est hominis unius.*

There is little need to insist on the immense practical importance of the principle here formulated: our theories of nationality, as well as our theories of state-control, are sound only in so far as they are based upon this fundamental doctrine. But I am tempted to question M. De Wulf's views as to the origin of these political theories. Christian revelation has at all times increased man's sense of the personal dignity of man, and it is perhaps true to say that the teaching of the School as to the nature of personality—*rationalis naturae individua substantia*—helped to prevent mediæval thinkers from pushing their theories of order and subordination at the expense of personal liberty. But the intellectual foundations on which all these theories rest are primarily Greek. The discovery of Aristotle's *Politics* in 1260 A.D. gave an impulse to political thought which is especially marked in the writings of St. Thomas; but the main source from which mediæval theorists and statesmen

drew their wisdom was, of course, the Roman Civil Law. M. De Wulf refers to the influence of Bologna and of mediæval jurists in general; but he does not tell his readers that the principles of justice and human liberty which they were applying to mediæval problems had been elaborated, under the influence of Greek philosophy, by jurists who, though Roman in name, were Greek by birth and education.

The counterpart of this individualism is an all-pervading love of order and subordination, the most obvious characteristic of mediæval thought. *Solius intellectus est ordinare*, writes St. Thomas, and no book that deals with Scholastic philosophy can fail to note its self-confident intellectualism. M. De Wulf devotes only one of his chapters to an analysis of this feature of mediæval philosophy, but the problem recurs in every page of his book. Probably nothing more divides modern thought from the philosophies of St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas and Scotus than the serene self-confidence with which all mediæval thinkers take intellect for granted. God is the source of intellect, and intellect governs the world: man sets out to conquer the world by intellect, and in his own mind re-creates the external world. M. De Wulf compares this mental attitude, so different from the doubts and scruples of modern philosophy, to the optimism that pervades the French *Chansons de geste* or the *Fioretti* of St. Francis. One might push the comparison further, and compare the intellectual quality of all mediæval art, strong in its confidence that man can order nature, to the technique of your modern artist, whose highest aim is the reproduction of a personal impression felt in the presence of nature. But, once again, M. De Wulf has sent us straying down avenues which lead us away from the central thesis of his book.

When we speak of intellectualism, we must be careful to define our terms. M. De Wulf means by it that tendency to order all things, physical as well as metaphysical, according to the *a priori* laws of human intellect: and in this sense of the word he brackets St. Thomas and Scotus as "intellectualists." Yet Scotism is essentially a philosophy of will as opposed to intellect, and there are many who would prefer to confine the term "intellectualism" to the Aristotelianism of St. Thomas. M. De Wulf has little to say about these divergencies: here and in *Mediæval Philosophy* (a condensed summary of the principal doctrines taught in the School) his tendency is to simplify the complexity of mediæval thought. Probably he would justify himself on the plea of tactics. Modern prejudice is so manifold that the apologist of mediæval philosophy must inevitably confine himself to certain definite

issues. Scotus and St. Thomas may have differed in their views as to the primacy of intellect or will; but both were "intellectualist" in their methods, and the admirable chapter in which M. De Wulf discusses the Scholastic theory of reason and faith is true of all mediæval philosophy. When Averroist thinkers challenged revealed truths of Christianity in the name of pure reason, St. Thomas and Scotus stood side by side in their defence of Christian philosophy.

Yet it was in combating Averroes that Scotus, following the traditions of Franciscan theology, came into sharpest conflict with the teachings of St. Thomas. Twenty or thirty years ago these disputes of mediæval philosophers would have been mentioned only in some Latin text-book. To-day M. Alcan, who presumably has an eye for business, publishes a series of philosophical monographs in which Maimonides and Avicenna, St. Thomas and Duns Scotus are studied as carefully as Descartes or Spinoza or Kant; and of the twenty-five works included in his series *Les Grands Philosophes*, the volumes on St. Thomas Aquinas have alone achieved the honours of a third edition. Part of this success must be set down to the author's credit. It is late in the day to be praising Père Sertillanges; but these two volumes, and with them a companion volume on the moral philosophy of St. Thomas,[1] should be better known in these countries: Père Sertillanges is the ablest modern exponent of Thomist philosophy. But no gifts of writing or exposition can make a dead philosophy live. Scholasticism, as taught by St. Thomas, is alive to-day because it gives an intellectual answer to the great problems of thought. In these days of cloudy scepticism men turn with relief to a philosophy which, in addition to sane ethical teaching and a very penetrating psychology, affirms the power of man's intellect to solve such problems as the existence of God, creation, free-will, or the fundamental processes of our intellectual activity: and St. Thomas is nowhere more satisfying than on these central truths.

The same intellectualist pre-occupation is evident in another noteworthy contribution to Thomist literature. We are celebrating this year the sixth centenary since the canonization of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the French Dominicans have issued a memorial volume of *Mélanges Thomistes*. A good half of the volume is occupied by essays on purely historical and critical topics, but two hundred pages are given to essays on various aspects of Thomist teaching. Theology is curiously absent from these pages: only one essay

[1] *La philosophie morale de S. Thomas d'Aquin.* 2nd edition. (Alcan. 1922).

out of a dozen deals with strictly theological matter. Controversy is also refreshingly absent: with the exception of a long article by Père Garrigou-Lagrange, in which the learned Dominican returns from his war-trail with the scalp of every non-Thomist philosopher from Spinoza to Suarez, the prevailing tone is one of clear and helpful exposition. Père Sertillanges re-states the essential intellectualism of St. Thomas in an able article on Being and Knowledge; Père Gardeil throws much-needed light on an important point in Thomist psychology, and his essay is followed by four others on similar topics; whilst the last three deal with questions of social ethics, the most notable being an article by Père Hugueny on the State and the Individual. The teaching outlined by M. De Wulf in his historical work is here analyzed in greater detail, and harmonized with the central theses of Thomist metaphysics.

It would be ungracious to turn from these *Mélanges Thomistes* without a tribute to Père Mandonnet, whose influence is plain in all the historical portion of the volume. His own introductory essay on the canonization of St. Thomas is full of curious mediæval lore, giving us a glimpse into that religious enthusiasm which, as M. De Wulf points out, is as vital in Scholastic philosophy as in every other feature of mediæval life. The history of the saint's relics, in particular, makes delightful, if somewhat gruesome reading: from the *gloria postuma* of a mediæval saint, good Lord deliver us! And Père Mandonnet's previous researches were the necessary preliminary to three important investigations which appear for the first time in these *Mélanges:* an elaborate account of the MS. evidence for the *Quodlibeta*, by Père Destrez; an ingenious proof by Père Synave that the saint's literal commentary on the four Gospels, (which Père Mandonnet, in his *Ecrits Authentiques de S. Thomas*, names as the only considerable authentic work of which no MS. has been found), most probably never existed, its appearance on the official catalogue of the saint's works being due to a copyist's error; and the first instalment of a study on David of Dinant by Père Théry, which promises to throw further light on the early history of Aristotelianism in the thirteenth century, a subject on which Père Mandonnet's *Siger de Brabant* is still the chief authority.

The debt which scholars owe to pioneer work of this kind will be apparent to a careful reader of M. Landry's work on Duns Scotus. Was Scotus merely a contradictor of St. Thomas, or does his theological controversy imply a philosophy as coherent and as satisfying as the system which he attacked? The question is not to be dismissed lightly, for the teaching of Scotus has had a profound

influence on Catholic theology. M. Landry's answer can be stated in a single sentence : Scotus was an intellectual anarchist of the thirteenth century. And his analysis of Scotist teaching can be reduced to three main contentions. By his virtual denial of matter and form as postulated by Aristotle and St. Thomas, and by his thesis that individuality is a formal perfection, unintelligible to man in his present state, Scotus made an *a priori* theory of the universe impossible, and thus prepared the way for Nominalist scepticism ; by his insistence on the primacy of will over intellect he reduced Christian ethics to a system of blind authority, dependent on God's arbitrary will ; by his acceptance of free-will as an unexplained fact in a world that can only be explained by causality, he made a rational proof of God's existence impossible, a consequence which Scotus himself admits in his most mature work, the *Theoremata*.

These are startling conclusions, and it is plain that, if M. Landry's interpretation of Scotism be correct, the history of Scholastic philosophy will have to be re-written. " Western civilisation may congratulate itself," as M. Landry writes at the end of his book, " that the Church of Rome, so influential in the Middle Ages, never took Duns Scotus as her official philosopher." M. Landry, we should add, is a French secular priest, and it is hard to resist the impression that his book, which won him a doctorate at the Sorbonne, was written for the pleasure of summing up with those words : Scotism has to-day few admirers in France. His book is sure to provoke controversy, and I leave the detailed criticism of his arguments to specialists in Scotist philosophy : *non nostrum est*. But one point is worth making. M. Landry is none too critical in his methods of interpretation. The work which Père Mandonnet and other scholars have done for St. Thomas has never been attempted by any competent Scotist critic, and it would have been wiser, if less amusing, to defer an estimate of the teaching of Scotus until this pioneer-work had been accomplished. Two examples will illustrate my point.

Scotus spent most of his life as student and professor in Oxford. In 1304 he was summoned to Paris, where he taught for four years : then, at the height of his fame, he was sent to Cologne, where he died shortly after his arrival, in the autumn of 1308. This sudden departure from the intellectual capital of Europe has perplexed Franciscan historians. Various explanations have been suggested : M. Landry propounds a theory of his own. Amongst the works attributed to Scotus is a treatise *De statuum perfectione*. Wadding doubted its authenticity because of the doctrine it defends, that

members of a religious order are in a higher state of perfection than bishops. M. Landry boldly claims the treatise as authentic, dates it, for no particular reason, to the years 1304-1308, and explains what he terms the " disgrace " of Duns Scotus by the scandal due to his indiscretion. Unfortunately, the only argument urged by M. Landry in support of the authenticity of the *De statuum perfectione* is the fact that it is included in the edition of Scotus published by the French Franciscans in 1892 : a work briefly described by Hurter as *omni apparatu critico et literario destituta.* These are not the methods of a reliable critic.

The second of M. Landry's vagaries has more serious consequences. The *Theoremata*, from which he quotes the most extreme instances of Scotist scepticism, are not above suspicion. In a short note prefixed to his volume, M. Landry airily informs us that Père Déodat-Marie, O.F.M., denies the authenticity of the *Theoremata.* " I do not accept his conclusions," he adds, " because his arguments amount to this : the *Theoremata* cannot be by Scotus, because they contradict well-attested teachings of the *Doctor Subtilis.*" Père Déodat-Marie is a well-known Scotist critic, and I had the curiosity to consult his article, to which M. Landry refers.[1] Far from resting his argument on internal evidence, he examines the external evidence in favour of the *Theoremata*, and his conclusions may be briefly stated as follows. No MS. of the *Theoremata* is known to exist ; it was first edited in 1514 by an Irish Franciscan, Maurice O'Fihilly (Mauritius de Portu), who complains of the scarcity and bad condition of the MSS. Wadding included it in his great edition of the works of Scotus (1639), with the notes of another Irishman, Hugh MacCaughwell (Cavellus) ; and it is from this edition that later editors have borrowed their text. But neither Wadding nor O'Fihilly, as they themselves admit, made any critical examination of the MSS., and both O'Fihilly and MacCaughwell point out grave discrepancies between the doctrine of the *Theoremata* and the teaching of Scotus in his other works. Scotus himself, so Père Déodat-Marie shows at length, never refers to the *Theoremata*, and between the date of his death and the year 1482 there is only one doubtful quotation, for which the learned Franciscan critic offers a very plausible explanation.

In the face of this evidence, we may justly marvel at M. Landry's critical methods. But apart from these questions of historical criticism and whatever our views as to the value of Scotist metaphysics, it is preposterous to speak of Duns Scotus as a more or less

[1] *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum.* vol. XI. (1918), pp. 3-31.

openly-avowed philosophical sceptic. A precursor of Nominalism he certainly was, at least indirectly : for in the history of philosophy *post hoc* is apt to imply a *propter hoc*. But M. Landry is over-zealous in defence of his thesis. Possibly a quotation from the work in which Scotus sums up his arguments as to the existence and nature of God will put the Franciscan's philosophy in a true light. This is how the *De primo rerum omnium principio* begins :

"O Lord our God, when Moses Thy servant asked Thee, the most truthful Teacher, how he should expound Thy name to the children of Israel, Thou, Who knowest the powers of man's intellect, revealing Thy blessed Name didst make reply : *I am who am.* Thou art true Being ; Thou art all Being : this I believe, this I would gladly know, were it possible. Help me, O Lord, in my search as to how far our natural reason, beginning from Being, which Thou didst predicate of Thyself, can reach Thee, the true Being."

What follows is involved and subtle enough to satisfy the most metaphysical : ordinary folk will feel more at home in the famous *Quinque viae* of St. Thomas. But that outburst of prayer reveals the mentality of Scotus. After all, Duns Scotus was a Franciscan, a son of St. Francis, and a disciple of St. Bonaventure. In a short preface to his work, M. Landry gives us his definition of Scotist philosophy : *La philosophie de Duns Scot est celle d'un franciscain ami des spirituels, ardent défenseur des droits de Dieu, et qui a perdu le sens de l'amour.* Certainly, mysticism and poetry would seem strangely out of place in M. Landry's pages, and for that reason I prefer M. De Wulf and Père Sertillanges as interpreters of mediæval philosophy.

AUBREY GWYNN.

REVIEWS

Biography

THE LIFE OF MERE ST. JOSEPH (Marie Louise Françoise Blin de Bourdon), second Superior-General of the Institute of Notre Dame of Namur. By a Member of the Institute. London: Longmans. 1923. Pp. x. 285. 15*s.* net.

FEW teaching Orders in the Church, since the epoch of the French Revolution, have had so richly varied and successful a career in many lands as the Institute of Notre Dame of Namur. Madame Blin de Bourdon, as this very interesting life abundantly shows, had a potent voice in shaping its educational activities, which are its exclusive purpose in the external direction. Exercising the chief authority in a centralised system of schools, from 1816 to 1838, and confronted with all the special difficulties that then arose in Belgium, she piloted the Institute in very trying times and in very difficult problems.

Brief but frequent allusions occur in this Life to the educational policy of the Dutch King William, who governed as a foreigner the unwilling people of Belgium from the Peace of Vienna, 1815, till they rose in successful revolt, 1830. The Dutch policy towards Catholic Schools in Belgium can thus be seen, and it is well worth examination. French nuns were expelled from Communities, and forbidden to teach; convent accounts had to be submitted to the Dutch officials; the number of nuns in each house was fixed by decree; any attempt to seek education abroad was made a civil disability, and even an ecclesiastical one. All the policies used by an earlier William of Nassau in Ireland, by M. Combes in modern France, and by various tyrants in the Mexico of the twentieth century, were put into force. The Dutch Government rivalled Joseph II. in using education as an instrument of government in the Belgian lands, and with the same inevitable result as had followed in 1790. There is both amusement and instruction in seeing how nuns and pupils behaved under a visit from King William at Namur in 1829; and the record can be compared with that of the subsequent visit in 1832 of the King brought in by the Belgian Revolution. Leopold was then accompanied by another member of the house of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Albert. He, too, had views on education, not too palatable, later on, to English pride.

One could wish, in such a volume, covering so formative a period in the lines of educational work both for the poor and for the middle class, that more space, more specific details as to organisation, direction, spirit and method of teaching, were given to the reader.

To make room for this, many points of internal interest, of divergent views, of small procedures of domestic life, could be safely omitted. Such a topic as that of the admission of music, painting, and drawing into the curriculum (p. 218), which could not be done, we are told, without the suppression of a rule, calls for much fuller treatment. It is the only issue bearing on the development of educational aims and methods, that is definitely inserted in this biography of over twenty years' administration of primary and secondary education : and it is rather alluded to than treated of. Very far from being " a trifling matter," a fuller statement of such events would be of much value and practical service.

The exposition of the spirit of Mère St. Joseph's guidance of others, with which the biography concludes, is well done, and of inspiring quality, though the extreme statement on the character of devotion to teaching in the Order (p. 266) would appear to need some counterbalancing statement on the duty of preserving one's health and strength for the service of God. T. C.

Classics

THE LEGACY OF ROME. Edited by Cyril Bailey. With introduction by the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith. Oxford : Clarendon Press ; London : Milford. 1923. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This book is a companion to Mr. Livingstone's *Legacy of Greece*, which appeared in 1921. While very similar to its predecessor, it may be said perhaps to have a more clearly defined aim and to accomplish it better. The authors of the *Legacy of Greece* were concerned mainly with showing reasons why we should still study the record of Greek achievement, and only a few of them tried to point out how far and for what reasons our civilisation is a continuity with that of Greece. The present work, perhaps because the task in the case of Rome is more obvious and easy, not only discusses the content of the " Legacy," but shows the process by which it has made its long descent, and how we may truly be said to live in a world made for us by Rome. The book is thus of great value not only to the general reader but also to the professed student, because it does not confine itself to the evaluation of Roman work in art and literature and organisation—a limitation which easily leads to platitudinous special pleading—but is a constructive and often original study in historical evolution.

Perhaps only in two of the essays which make up the book does the propagandist voice of the enthusiastic professor jar on our tired ears—in the essay on " Family and Social Life " by Mr.

Hugh Last and that on " Literature " by Dr. Mackail. The former contains nothing that may not be found in any handbook of Roman Antiquities, and is largely vitiated by an enthusiasm for the noble, simple *gravitas* of the Roman in his pure state before the hungry Greeklings corrupted his morals, which is based on a very one-sided view of the Roman character and takes far too literally the " uplifting " tendencies of early Imperial writers. The latter is also a repetition of things said long ago, many of them not wisely but too well, and Dr. Mackail disdains to append the bibliography which might have enlarged his reader's horizon to advantage. For the remainder of the book we have nothing but praise, except that possibly Professor de Zulueta might have stooped more to the crowd in his account of Roman Law.

Perhaps we may pick out two ideas which are again and again emphasised by the book. The first concerns the formation of the " Legacy," the second its transmission. It is remarkable how the outlook of scholars is changing on the vexed question of Roman originality. Nowadays the influence of Greece on Roman political ideas, law, and imperial organisation is being more and more clearly recognised, where once it was allowed no place ; while in the domain of art and architecture the independence of Rome and the greatness of her contribution are being brought into prominence, where formerly everything Roman was regarded as degenerate Greek. No doubt both tendencies are largely on sound lines. We are glad to see in Mr. Barker's essay on " The Conception of Empire " and to a less extent in Mr. Stuart Jones's on " Administration " that the character of Cæsarian and Augustan Rome as a " Hellenistic " city gets full recognition. Mr. Barker in particular gives us perhaps the best short account in English of the entry of Hellenistic king-worship, and the political notions that accompanied it, into Roman history—a subject on which much has been written in German during the past twenty years. On the other hand, Mr. Rusforth on " Art and Architecture " is balanced and careful as between Mrs. Strong on one side and Dr. Percy Gardner on the other, while Professor Giovannoni on " Building and Engineering " enters a brilliant and effective protest against the pan-Orientalism of Stryzgowski.

The second idea which is duly emphasised in this book is the continuity of Rome. Professor Foligno on " The Transmission of the Legacy," Mr. Bradley in a most informative sketch on " Language," Professor de Zulueta on " Law," and Dr. Singer on " Science " all show how the Roman heritage lasted in Europe even after the fall of the Empire, and make it clear that the recovery of

that heritage was not the work of a sudden Renaissance in the late Middle Ages, but a slow, continuous process of centuries from the days of Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella onwards, in which the Catholic Church played the most influential part. It is a strange thought that this obviously sound view of history should be unknown as yet to many classical scholars.

Last, but by no means least, comes Mr. Heitland's able article on "Agriculture," a good corrective in its realistic treatment of Roman slavery and business methods to the rosy outlook of Mr. Hugh Last on "Family Life"—though perhaps too much coloured by the views of the Ferrero school. Mr. Asquith's preface is disarmingly modest in tone and well-informed. The book is one which will enlarge the ideas of both general reader and "Fachmann," and is a most refreshing example of modern methods in scholarship.

M. O'T.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ROMAN RELIGION. By W. R. Halliday, B.A., B.Litt. University Press of Liverpool. 1922. 5*s.* net.

When the ordinary man, and one might even say the student of classics who has not made a special study of the subject, thinks of the religion of ancient Rome, his mind naturally reverts to polytheism and anthropomorphism. These are conceptions familiar to all who have even a slight acquaintance with classical literature. Anthropomorphism, however, was not Roman (except by adoption) but Greek. The native religion of Rome was of a type quite different from the Greek conceptions of divinity: the early Romans worshipped abstract spiritual powers, *numina*, unpersonified, sexless, and it was not till the growing size and power of Rome made her subject to a host of foreign influences that the anthropomorphism and mythology of Greece began to make an impression on the national religion. The effort to extract the core of real Roman religion from all the accretions due to Greek and other influences is one naturally attended by many difficulties, and on many points we must perforce be satisfied to remain in doubt, as the evidence to be gained from Latin literature is extremely meagre. But Professor Halliday has done his work well, and sums up clearly all that the present state of our knowledge entitles us to say on the subject. A point he brings out clearly is the complete lack of individualism in early Roman religion: "Its true subdivisions are the religious observances of the household, the farm and the State, and throughout it is primarily the welfare of the appropriate group not that of an individual which is the object of religious

ceremonies" (p. 22). Individualism, however, gradually gained ground with the advent of foreign gods and their identification with the old Roman *numina*.

After the Second Punic War wealth, with its consequent love of luxury and ease, flowed into Rome, while at the other end of the social scale extreme poverty became increasingly common. Both contributed to engender a materialistic spirit in the Romans. Moreover, Greek philosophy sapped the base of religious belief, till religion ceased to have any real meaning for men, and religious rites and ceremonies became mere tools in the hands of parties and individuals to serve their political and private ends. Professor Halliday's summing-up of the causes which led to the utter breakdown of Roman religion in the last century of the Republic is extremely good. Altogether his eight lectures, dealing with the subject up to and including the reforms of Augustus, make a very readable book for the person who wishes to know something of Roman religion, and a good introduction for the student who intends to make a more detailed study. T. A. J.

Economics

THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. By D. W. Robertson. London: Nisbet and the Cambridge University Press. 1923. 5*s.* net.

THIS new addition to the Cambridge Economic Handbooks worthily maintains the high standard of excellence reached by the earlier volumes of the series. Mr. Robertson has compressed a very large amount of information into a comparatively small number of pages, and has succeeded in covering the whole of a difficult subject matter with conciseness and lucidity. The larger questions as to how far the industrial activities of the world are controlled, on the one hand by the captains of industry and on the other hand by the consuming public, have been specially dealt with in earlier volumes of the Cambridge Economic Handbooks; in this volume Mr. Robertson confines himself to narrower limits, to the "nature and composition of that company of immediate agents who direct the processes of business, none of them (in his business capacity at least) visualizing the economic problem of society as a whole, but each working in his own comparatively narrow field."

The first part of the book contains an excellent description of the historical developments that have led to the existing industrial formation. Modern industries, according to Mr. Robertson, are developing two distinctive characteristics which to some extent

oppose each other: the tendency to disintegrate and become ever more and more localized and specialized, and the tendency to integrate and become more and more interlocked and subject to a common direction. The joint result of these two tendencies is to diminish the relative importance of the workers and to increase that of the employers, and in particular that of the financial groups, which nowadays exercise a more real control over industry than the employers themselves. Mr. Robertson makes some interesting speculations as to the probable effect of new forms of power, such as oil and electricity, on the localization and size of manufactures, and hazards the opinion that we may be on the threshold of a new era of small scale and widely spread factories and workshops.

The second part of the volume is devoted to a description and critical examination of the systems of industrial organization which have been proposed to take the place of "the existing system." Mr. Robertson is too wise to be deceived by any of the panaceas which he discusses, while at the same time he is too broadminded to dismiss from consideration any proposal that may contain any element of usefulness. In our opinion this portion of the book is a real contribution to economic thought, because it shows that "the existing system" and all the proposed alternative systems of industry are not mutually exclusive, but that on the contrary they are capable of being accommodated together and can each contribute a useful share to the nation's total industrial organization. For example, the principle of control over industry by the consumer is already practised by the consumers' co-operative movement; collectivism or state ownership is already exemplified in the post office; communistic arrangements do actually prevail in the case of roads and other public services; syndicalism exists on a small scale in numerous little organizations of co-operative producers; and the ideas of the national guildsmen may be seen in operation in the English building guilds. Mr. Robertson's own favoured line of advance towards the amelioration of the existing system is along the road of increased joint control by employers and workmen, and he devotes his final chapter to a discussion as to how far this desirable object can be attained by local and by national organization respectively.

We have said enough to indicate that Mr. Robertson's book is one which must be of the greatest use to economic students. Its principal merit is its broadmindedness, its complete refusal to take a narrow *doctrinaire* view of any form of industrial control. Every system has its uses as well as its abuses, and a harmonious industrial society can only be achieved by the balancing of opposing

tendencies. Havelock Ellis says somewhere that to ask whether individualism or socialism is the dominant force among men is like asking whether the solar system is governed by centrifugal or centripetal force. The only answer to these questions is that harmony is secured and chaos averted by the nice equilibrium of the opposing forces. Mr. Robertson realizes this great truth and shows us how such an equilibrium is in practice tending to be reached in spite of all the shrieks and groans of the *doctrinaires* on every side. G. O'B.

ECONOMICS AND ETHICS. By J. A. R. Marriott. London: Methuen. 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

We must confess ourselves disappointed in this book. The relations between economics and ethics afford the subject matter of a most interesting and important study; but we are afraid that Mr. Marriott has not quite risen to the occasion. How far the classical economists overlooked moral considerations altogether, how far they applied a morality of their own, to what extent ethics can be safely neglected in arriving at economic conclusions—these and a host of other matters would fall into place in a properly executed study of the subject. Special attention would have to be devoted to the reaction against non-moral economic teaching which has shown itself on the one hand among socialists and on the other hand among Catholics. All these matters, in so far as they are touched upon by Mr. Marriott at all, are dealt with in a quite inadequate manner, and his book, which boasts such an attractive title, is little more than an elementary text-book of political economy, with a few additional observations on the rights and wrongs of certain economic transactions.

The recent revival of interest in economics that has taken place among Catholics is distinguished by its profoundly ethical outlook, but of this great movement Mr. Marriott betrays no knowledge. The numerous important French and Belgian works on the subject are not referred to, and even some modern English books are apparently unknown. Indeed there is no reference to the difficulties of enforcing any particular system of ethics that may be chosen as desirable, and there is no suggestion of any agency suitable for the application of moral principles other than the State. Moreover the author does not seem to have felt any difficulty with regard to the selection of the particular moral standards that ought to be employed in social relationships. Presumably everybody would agree that men should be just and righteous in their mutual dealings; it is only when the question of what constitutes justice

in any concrete case comes to be decided that differences of opinion are likely to occur. In a word, Mr. Marriott neglects to discuss the one thing that we would have thought it important to discuss, namely, the source and the sanction of the morality which he would like to see applied.

This omission is all the more surprising because the author seems to be aware that some teaching authority is essential. On page 197 he says: "No man is adequately endowed for the day-to-day duties of citizenship, much less for the direction of industrial or commercial enterprise, who is content to remain ignorant of the laws of value or of the theory of money. Nor is any ethical teacher entitled to express an opinion on an economic problem unless he has been at pains to master them. Christ was not in fact confronted by complex economic problems . . . . . Those who to-day claim to speak in His name have, it may be urged, a more difficult task and a more extended responsibility." He also seems alive to the dangers of the State being allowed complete control in moral matters, as one of the arguments given against socialism is that the State is not fit to be trusted with an indefinite extension of powers. Yet in both these matters the discussion is not carried to its logical conclusion. It is fruitless to lay down what the ethical authority should do without pointing out where that authority resides, and it is pointless to demonstrate the necessity for some power that will control the State without demonstrating where that power is to be found.

The neglect of the author to draw upon the Catholic authorities on the subject is especially noticeable in the discussions on gambling, almsgiving and population. On all these matters there is a well-defined Catholic teaching, explained in an abundance of excellent books and articles. Yet of this vast mass of material Mr. Marriott is apparently quite ignorant, and the value of his discussions and of his conclusions are greatly diminished on this account.

G. O'B.

Fiction

DEIRDRE. By James Stephens. London: Macmillan. 1923. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

Mr. Stephens, who issued his first book in 1909, is already responsible for fourteen volumes—a handsome output; but it is nine years since he has given us a novel. The public are, no doubt, largely to blame for this, as *The Demi-Gods* has not even yet received the honour which is its due. It is to be hoped that a worthy reception will be accorded to *Deirdre*, and that Mr. Stephens

will be thereby encouraged to present the second instalment of his version of "The Great Táin" without undue delay.

For *Deirdre* is a noble book, the most imaginative, eloquent and stirring romance that Ireland has yet brought forth. In largeness of plan, in subtlety of characterisation, in rich variety of incident, in exquisite suavity of style it will not soon nor easily be equalled.

It will, doubless, inspire many imitators, but it is itself a work of authentic inspiration. There is youth and age in it—Ainnle and Arden, the young bright-eyed brothers of Naoise, and Lavarcham, the wise old conversation-woman of King Conachúr; there is love, the fierce, selfish passion of the King, the pure flame which consumed Deirdre and Naoise in one blaze; there is fighting, such combats as have not been waged since Troy burned; there is high courtesy and honour, the fresh magnanimity of Cúchulinn, the heavier worth of Fergus; and there is humour, too, tender pleasantry, sharp sardonic wit and gross rib-tickling mirth. All these things are interwoven with such mastery that we move in a flash from laughter to tears; that we read without thought of time; that we end this book stirred with an emotion which renders us incapable of dispassionate judgment.

The critic anxious to discharge his task of appraisement must read it at least twice; and, having done so, is more fortunate than I am if he can analyse, dissect and expound its virtues. Here and there I find a phrase which grates a little. Twice I come on passages which will scandalise some readers by their frank portrayal of pagan customs. Yet, if these be faults, they seem to be faults attributable to the characters rather than to the author; for Mr. Stephens has told his story not as though he were its inventor, but as though he were a mere instrument of fate fashioned for the purpose of recording, fully, veraciously and imperishably, deeds and happenings of the mightiest import.

The story of Deirdre has been told before, beautifully, and by our greatest artists. The versions produced by Synge and by Senator Yeats rank among the brightest gems of Anglo-Irish literature. Mr. Stephens tells this old tale finally; for he has told it in such a way that he has left nothing to be said on the subject by anyone else to come.

THOMAS BODKIN.

LA BRIERE. Par Alphonse de Chateaubriant. Paris: Grasset. 1923. 7*fr.* 50.

La Brière, one of the most notable novels of the year, which won the *Grand Prix du Roman* of the French Academy, is a book written at leisure and to be read at leisure. Irish readers will be

glad of a quotation from a French critic, M. André Thérive, in *L'Opinion* (July 6, 1923) :—

> You must know that La Brière is a marshy district lying to the right of the Loire, north of St. Nazaire, and extending to the borders of Morbihan. Its villages live as it were on islands, surrounded by turf-bogs and waterways that abound in fish. That must be enough to maintain in the inhabitants an originality jealous of its self-preservation, especially at the time at which, I believe, M. de Chateaubriant places his story, some twenty-five years ago. The rôle of narrative fiction, in the age of uniformity, seems to be to discover and depict, before they disappear, the singular races and groups which have survived within the territory of France.

Physical features and climatic conditions have isolated La Brière. "The railway traveller sees nothing but grass land wrapt in fog," muses a character in the novel. "And a very good thing it is ! It keeps the Briéron a thousand leagues from the rest of the world." The author thinks that this isolation has preserved ancient differences in race. "The Briérons of the centre, of the islands here," says the doctor, "must in my opinion be the descendants of the Saxon freebooters who, getting a footing in the Brière islands drove back to the river bank tribes more or less sprung from the stragglers of Cæsar's army. Look . . . at the long face, powerful jaws, high cheek-bones of that man lying there ; and then at the big wide-open eyes, the olive complexion, the pure italic oval of the men of Mayun . . look at the potters of Osca who, all unknowingly, still make the Roman lamp."

Be that as it may, a fierce, self-conscious independence makes these islanders look down with contempt on the less hardy shore dwellers, typically on the basket-makers of Mayun. They are rugged, jealously traditional men and women, full of ingrained virtues and prejudices. Sixteen out of seventeen village communes—for alas ! one village has developed into a big industrial town—band themselves together in defence of privileges granted by the good duchess Anne : the search for the charter of their liberties is a bye-plot. The struggle between the sturdy conservatism of the *syndics* and their tardy recognition that they are powerless against time and change is quite pathetic.

The art of the author consists largely in this, that he enters and makes us enter into the moods and consciousness of the primitive people he describes. There are throughout the book passages of poignant or delicate emotion : the councils of the *syndics ;* the terrible scenes between the guard Aoustin and his women-folk : Aoustin fierce, righteous, unrelenting like some nature-force, yielding a little only to oncoming age and the buffetings of misfortune ; his daughter Théotiste full of sombre passion and falling in love, for

her undoing, with one of the despised race of Mayun. Or again the activities of the valiant Julie, or the idyllic figure of Marie and her odd lover, M. Ulric.

But above and beyond all these, beyond Aoustin himself, the incarnation and chosen representative of the Briéron spirit, La Brière itself is the protagonist of the novel. It lives in many a minute and studied description of its villages, its roadways and dykes, its waterways, its ponds, its turf-bogs, all with their characteristic life : their sunshine and fog, their summer and their snow, their morning and their nightfall, their aquatic plants and animals ; the industries of marsh and moor, leech and eel fishing, bird-snaring, shooting, poaching, reed-cutting, basket-making. The human fortunes of Aoustin and his friends touch us as they might in real life : we meet them almost as we ramble up and down the country, hear what has happened in the interval ; and only one story, that of Théotiste, is worked out to a conclusion.

With its wealth of local and technical detail, the book is not quite easy reading ; but little by little one understands all about *curées*, *coulines*, *piardes*, *platières*, etc., etc. The language bears the double stamp of the characters, with their rude, vigorous, proverbial, and often poetic speech ; and of the author, symbolist and poet. The symbolist appears also in the ideas : the frequently emphasized *correspondances* between man and nature ; and the figure of poor crazy Florence, ridiculed, jostled, baited by the rough men about her whenever she appears ; but with the sanity of the madwoman representing the patience and charity of Christ, awaking a gruff pity and kindness in the stern Aoustin, sheltering in her cabin and casting a shimmering robe of light over the unhappy erring Théotiste. M. R.

THE WALK OF A QUEEN. By Annie M. P. Smithson. Dublin : Talbot Press, 1922. 6*s.* net.

Miss Smithson has taken the Anglo-Irish War which terminated in the Truce of July, 1921, as the period for this highly interesting book. Therein she gives a graphic account of the events of that stirring time ; and if she is frankly and enthusiastically on the *Sinn Féin* side, so much so indeed as to be unable to see scarcely any faults in the Irish young men and women engaged in the struggle, who shall blame her ? There has been enough and to spare of hard words about " the murder-gang " and their " accomplices." A good work has been done by the author in depicting the fierce fight from what one may be allowed to term the heroic

angle ; nor is there any material lack of historical accuracy in her picture. Dark deeds form an inevitable part of all Revolutions, but there is no necessity for writers such as Miss Smithson to lay stress upon them.

Apart from the matter of political sympathies Miss Smithson has given the public a fine rousing story. Making full use of the dramatic material at her disposal she has written a novel which holds the reader's interest from start to finish. Thrilling escapes, deeds of derring-do, and the essential love-interest, all combine to make up a highly entertaining book. As is usual in Miss Smithson's stories, intervention of a miraculous order is also to be met with. Of course, we have a Hospital Nurse figuring in its pages ; and, as is always the case, Miss Smithson depicts her (this time as Geraldine Moore) in sympathetic and at the same time convincing fashion. Now and again the reader blinks a little when the author's strong partisan faith induces her to draw what seems to less believing folk too highly coloured a picture of certain episodes and certain characters. But this exaggeration is, in all the circumstances, excusable. Miss Smithson's style is by this time familiar to the Irish public. This, her latest work, has won a Prize. She is essentially natural, one might almost say, simple. There is no straining after effect, no attempt at the " cleverness " so often met with in modern fiction, be it Irish or foreign. A good book, in short ; and like good wine, it needs no bush. W. D.

History

A HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL IRELAND (1110 *to* 1513). By Edmund Curtis. Dublin : Maunsel and Roberts. 1923. 21*s.* net.

The history of the Ireland of any period is far from easy to write, but the centuries of which Professor Curtis treats in this volume present peculiar difficulties. In spite of these difficulties, the author has been able to put before his readers what is at once a really interesting narrative and a carefully thought out study of the causes which produced the events and of the social and political phenomena of the period.

The population of mediæval Ireland, after the Norman invasion, comprised four elements—the native Irish ; the Anglo-Normans or Anglo-Irish ; the " English by birth," that is to say officials sent across the Channel to administer the government ; and the towns, which last had a quasi-political life of their own.

At first it seemed as if the invading barons of Henry II. were

about to repeat the performance of their ancestors in England some hundred years before, and subdue the whole of Ireland. One piece of territory after another was overrun, the poorer classes reduced to a state of serfdom, and the chief suffered at most to retain only a fraction of his former lands. But there was no William the Conqueror on the spot to centralize authority and discipline these turbulent nobles; no new adventurers came across the Channel to fill up their depleted ranks. The native ruler took heart and learned from the enemy himself the methods of warfare which could most effectively be used against him. So wave after wave of Irish resurgence came, and bit by bit the foreigner was driven back. Driven out he was not; partly because there was no central power on the Irish side, and partly because he had ceased to be wholly a foreigner, although he never became, within this period, quite an Irishman. The position of "the middle nation" is thus described (page 257):—

> An Anglo-Irish "Patriot Party" formed itself, and we hear the first utterance of the spirit which was behind Swift and Grattan. The Patriots of the fourteenth century, like those of the eighteenth, resented English domination from oversea, were bent on keeping the government and power of Ireland in their own hands, and while averse to a general enfranchisement of the Gaelic population, which might lead to a reversal of the Conquest on which their land-titles rested, were ready to make their own terms as overlords with the Irish and admit them to a guarded equality. Ready to obey the King should he come, or any Prince of the Blood, they hated these officials, "English by birth," against whom they proudly styled themselves "English by blood," and especially resented the authority of the English Justiciars, who stayed so short a time, oppressed the land with exactions, and did so little with the subsidies which the Irish Parliament voted for the pressing needs of the State. Their Political ideal was a Colonial independence, and theirs was a half-nationality, "Irish to the English and English to the Irish."

In actual fact the Anglo-Irish never advanced beyond this attitude; but signs are not wanting that they might well have done so, and that an independent or virtually independent Irish State might have been evolved, in which Gael and Gaul might have combined, grouped round a sovereign probably of the house of Kildare.

Such a centralisation as this the most patriotic Irishman might well desire; for the Norman element, here as elsewhere, would ultimately have been absorbed:—

> Men of no allegiance, country, or language, they were ready to be Irish in Ireland, as the men of their race became Scots across the Borders or Orientals in Antioch or Palermo, and as their Norse ancestors had become French in France.

Another sort of centralisation, one founded on a closer connection and a virtual assimilation with England, the rulers of that

country desired and, when an opportunity presented itself, tried to promote, although their efforts were, owing to circumstances at this period, fitful. That they did not succeed Professor Curtis appears to regret. When he speaks of the "loyalty" of the Irish towns which, at the time of the Bruce invasion, saved the English power in Ireland from at least temporary extinction—as indeed it did later in the closing phases of Hugh O'Neill's insurrection—or when he laments that the treachery and injustice of the English government produced hostility to it on the part of the native Irish, and finally also of the Colonists, one understands his dislike of disorder and bloodshed; but yet one feels that the price which would have had ultimately to be paid for avoiding these might have been too high.

To the Irish Celtic Church at the time of the Norman invasion Professor Curtis has not done justice. He blames the hierarchy for their "surrender" to Henry II., and supposes that this was due to the impression made on them by Pope Adrian's Bull. Now, supposing this document to be genuine—the text of it rests, as Professor Curtis reminds us, on the word of Giraldus Cambrensis only—the silence of the Irish annalists, many or most of whom were clerics, regarding it is remarkable. It seems certainly to have made no impression on St. Laurence O'Toole, since he endeavoured to form a league of the Irish chiefs against the invaders, and Cardinal Viviani the Pope's (Alexander III.) Legate actually (1177) exhorted the Ulster men to resist the Normans—"pro patria et libertate pugnare contra Henricum II."

It must also be remembered that the Irish bishops were not accustomed to take a lead in matters purely political, and that they probably dreaded the bloodshed which resistance would have entailed.

Again (page 69), the Irish Church is spoken of as "schismatic." The only ground for this very serious charge is, as far as we can see, a passage in the work of Bishop Gilbert of Limerick *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, in which he speaks of "diversi et schismatici illi ordines quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est." Elsewhere, however, he explains that his remarks relate to ritual and rites only. He wishes to bring Ireland into accord with the universal (catholicum) and Roman usage. He has evidently no intention of declaring the Irish Church as a whole schismatic and, at any rate, had certainly no right to make an authoratative statement on the matter.

It is to be noted that Bishop Gilbert desires that the *Roman* usage should be followed. At the Synod of Cashel (1171) we hear it was decreed: "Divine offices shall be celebrated according to the

forms of the Church of England." If this expression was really used (the not over-reliable Giraldus Cambrensis is our authority), it can have been merely because the English usage was also that of Rome and of the Church in general. The remark that follows—"for it is right and just that, as Ireland has received her lord and king from England, she should accept reformation from the same source"—appears to have been most probably an ornamental addition made by the ingenious Welsh historian from his own imagination. M. T. H.

THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND, 1906-1923. By W. Alison Phillips. London: Longmans. 1923. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

THEY must teach some remarkable history in Dublin University.

"So long as Roman Catholicism was the creed of the Pale, the Church beyond the Pale cared not a rap for Rome. When Protestantism became the religion of the dominant English, the Gaels returned with fervour to the threshold of the Apostles." (p. 11).

"Protestants well knew that the fact that they lived on the most friendly terms with their Catholic neighbours was in itself no guarantee that their rights and their property would be respected were the Catholics ever to get the upper hand. They had seen from the recent cases of the Motu Proprio *Quantavis Diligentia* and the *Ne temere* decree how completely the Roman Church adhered to the most extreme claims to jurisdiction put forward by the mediæval popes." (p. 143).

"It was known to the authorities, however, that the Lord Mayor [Alderman McCurtin], who was said to have refused to sanction the use of Corporation Funds for the purposes of the 'war,' and had certainly asked for police protection, was 'executed' as an object-lesson to weak-kneed supporters of the cause." (p. 173).

"In the performance of this difficult and very dangerous task serious irregularities were sometimes committed; *but on the whole the 'Black-and-Tans' were not unpopular.*" (p. 187).

"Miracles are of almost every-day occurrence in Ireland, where the mass of the peasants, carefully preserved by their Church from the slightest contamination of liberalism, live in an atmosphere of the supernatural and, like the grown-up children they are, use their naturally quick intelligence to people the waste spaces of their world with a host of creatures of the imagination." (p. 146).

Other statements are that the name of the Gaelic League in Irish is *Cumann na nGaedhael* (p. 55), that the *Leader* made its bow to the public in the year 1917 (p. 118), that Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson was killed by the I.R.A. on the orders of its Executive (p. 283).

All this information I have collected from this latest book of the Lecky professor of modern history in the University of Dublin. The great quality of the late Mr. Lecky, sometimes even his weakness, was an extreme impartiality of statement. One finds it hard to imagine Lecky speaking, like Professor Phillips, of "the more

infamous organs of the Radical press" (p. 194)—this about the Professor's own country.

The manner in which Professor Phillips deals with the contrasted gun-runnings of Larne and Howth respectively—surely identical in circumstance if not in motive—is very interesting :—

"The Ulster volunteers had imported arms by stratagem, under cover of night, and had been able to justify their action in some sort by the judicial decision which had declared the Arms Proclamation illegal. But this decision had been reversed by the Dublin Court of King's Bench on the 15th June, and the act of the Irish volunteers was therefore one of ostentatious defiance of the law."

This distinction is new and ingenious. In actual fact no decision had been given declaring the proclamation forbidding importation illegal. The matter was left open, and when it came up later, on June 15, two Liberal judges held the importation of arms to be illegal, but Mr. Justice Kenny, a Unionist judge, dissented and held it to be quite legal. If one were to follow Professor Phillips's reasoning, one should say that Childers, Figgis and MacDonagh expected the Unionist view to prevail on the further appeal which was open; for nothing surely would have induced them to commit a breach of the common law, any more than the Ulster Volunteers.

This instance is typical of the whole. Everything that Ulster does is right. Everything done by Irish Catholics (except perhaps the select body of Catholic Unionists) is wrong. Mr. Phillips shows at once a great desire and a perfect incapacity for impartiality. He has that type of mind which cannot realise the other side's point of view. His book is, however, most readable for men of all sides. He has an easy, vivid style, and has shown great industry in accumulating facts, true and false. He was given special access to the police reports and other secret documents of Dublin Castle. Judging from the extracts given, Dublin Castle was probably wise in thinking that the best way to deal with these records was to burn them, as it did. The impression one takes from them is of men writing up to head-quarters just what they thought their superiors would like to hear.

Was it Heine who said that, while the most intelligent Englishman would say something stupid about religion, any Englishman would say something intelligent about politics? Substituting history for religion, one might apply the statement to Professor Phillips. His remarks about current politics are far more intelligent—as for instance :—

"If the Government had accepted the verdict of the Irish elections of 1918 and made it the excuse for taking the line which it adopted in 1921, it would have spared Ireland much of the bloodshed and misery, and itself the ignominy of the years that followed."

Or again :—

"It is possible to regret that the British Government, having once made up its mind to surrender, did not frankly recognise the Irish Republic on some such terms as these. To have done so would not have exposed the Crown to any greater humiliation than it has suffered, nor Great Britain to any dangers from which the actual Treaty preserves her, while Ireland might have been spared the ruin, desolation and bloodshed of another year of fratricidal strife . . . . As the debate proceeded it became clear there was no conflict of ideals between the opponents and supporters of the Treaty, but only a difference of opinion, as to how far policy justified a compromise with principle. De Valera and his supporters maintained that such a compromise was not only not honest, but that it would for ever make the application of the principle impossible. The supporters of the Treaty held that it conceded nearly everything for which Sinn Fein had struggled and fought and that, so far from making the full realisation of its ideal impossible, it brought it a long step nearer."

Mr. Phillips seldom realises the hidden motives of inner policy, and does not fully understand the line of ideas which led the infinitely shrewd governing class of his own country to give, or seem to give, away so many things, at the price of maintaining the royal dignity in Ireland.

ARTHUR E. CLERY.

AN OUTLAW'S DIARY. Part I.—*The Revolution ;* Part II.—*The Commune.* By Cécile Tormay. With sixty-four illustrations. London : Philip Allan. 1923. 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE memoirs of the great French Revolution enjoy even to-day a great popularity. A similar appeal, though a much stronger one, is made by Miss Tormay's Diary of the Bolshevik revolution at Budapest. That event took place only the other day, and in a city like to any of the cities we know, wearing the appearance and provided with the apparatus of modern life ; all about us, moreover, we can hear, though in muttered tones, the doctrines and maxims of the Buda terrorists, and can, with a small effort of imagination, discern the sinister figures of potential Kuns and Szamuelys ; in Buda a few weeks before the event the rule of the Commissaries was as unthinkable as we fancy it is now among us. Hence the fascination of this book, a diary written day by day during the Hundred Days, and written by a lady who when beginning it had no idea that she was about to describe one of the most terrible episodes in history. She notes daily the panic-rumours that reach her as well as the events she learns on good authority ; coming back from her walks through the streets, she describes happenings, the significance of which unfolds itself only afterwards ; sketches faces and figures, then strange to her but now infamous to the

world ; records chance remarks or scraps of conversation heard from the milkman, the charwoman, soldiers, policemen, shopkeepers ; tells of the thoughts and feelings of the richer folk cowering in their mansions or hiding in country farmhouses.

Though not written as a history, this diary is the most enthralling form of history, a moving-picture which, without any philosophic explanations or discussions, tells its story and its lesson. Most fortunate for us it was that these important events were described *sur le vif* by one who possessed so skilful and ready a pen (Miss Tormay's novels have been translated into most languages), and who by her family connections and her own active interest in the life of the common people was in touch with most reliable sources of information. As we read her book we seem to live in the streets and houses of Buda and in the Northern villages whither she fled for refuge, and we learn to know those whom she knows, pitying the despairful among them, despising the cowardly, loathing the traitorous, loving the loyal ; most of all, do we feel—and say " absit omen," thinking each one of his own country—the terrible shame that agonised the writer, shame for the soldiers and politicians who were false to the thousand years' traditions of Hungary, and shame for the ordinary folk who tamely submitted to be trampled on by a handful of ruffians and degenerates.

In a few points of some importance Miss Tormay supplements previous accounts of the Revolution. For instance, the usual explanation of Capitaine Vix's persistent refusal to crush the Bolsheviks is that the Allies were jealous of any activity on the part of the French military mission. Miss Tormay gives what seems a more adequate explanation (though it implies a very serious charge), namely, that Vix was more or less in sympathy with Kun and his followers, being himself an Alsatian Jew. Again, in other accounts the character of Karolyi is not unrelievedly villainous ; for instance, his favouring of the Bolshevik excesses is explained as a ruse to force better terms from the Allies. In this book he appears as at first possessed by an insane hatred of Tisza, and subsequently as an out-and-out Bolshevik. In particular Miss Tormay accuses him (and gives her authorities) of accepting from the French general at Belgrade worse terms than those which *he knew* had been already granted (though not published) by the Allied Council.

The drama of Budapest Bolshevism, though acted on a smaller stage, is darker than that of the Russian revolution, some of the actors in which could by a stretch of charity be styled idealist

extremists. The Buda terrorists were all criminals or maniacs. Their descriptions as given in *An Outlaw's Diary* are more vividly coloured but not different, even in detail, from those given by other writers.

L. McK.

THE EARLY IRISH MONASTIC SCHOOLS. A Study of Ireland's Contribution to Early Mediæval Culture. By Hugh Graham, M.A. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1923. 5*s*. net.

Mr. Graham, who is Professor of Education at the College of St. Teresa, Winona, Minnesota, U.S.A. (and, one may add, "true brother of that company" of Irish teachers "serving humanity in many lands," of whom his touching Dedication speaks), has achieved in his valuable book a twofold success. He has condensed into seven chapters—or lectures perhaps—their form and tone, crisp, clear-cut and definitely authoritative, rather suggest the Lecture Room—"a critical and fairly complete account of the Irish Monastic Schools which flourished prior to 900 A.D.," and he has filled up a *lacuna* in the history of European Civilisation. He holds rightly that the Irish Monastic Schools were the connecting link between the *Renaissance* and the Græco-Roman culture of the early centuries of our era, and shows these schools playing their leading part in the preservation and transmission of letters during the early Middle Ages. He maintains—and establishes—the thesis that the peculiar character of these Irish Monastic Schools is the result of a combination of these three elements: native Irish culture, Christianity, Græco-Roman culture; and his main task has been to analyse the contribution of each ingredient to the final result.

It is to be hoped that our own Ministry of Education will find a use for the book—admirably turned out by the Talbot Press at a moderate price—in some of their *curricula*, especially those designed for the formation of the future teachers of Ireland.

Helena Concannon.

Philosophy

SCEPTICISM AND ANIMAL FAITH. Introduction to a System of Philosophy. By George Santayana. Constable. 1923. 12*s*.

THE LIFE OF REASON. By George Santayana. Five volumes. Second edition. Constable. 1922. 8*s*. net each.

In five volumes Professor Santayana gives us a conspectus of a general world-philosophy; in a single volume he provides an introduction, which serves as a key to the others. All six will make

pleasant reading for a reader who has sufficient leisure and brains to enjoy the study of exquisite brain-spinnings; but from the longer and more detailed volumes he will probably derive both more enjoyment and more profit than from the summary condensation. This is partly because the *Life of Reason* volumes contain a larger amount of development and application in proportion to pure exposition of theory. It is also because Professor Santayana excels, like most philosophers and indeed most human beings, in criticism rather than in construction, and his remarkable literary gifts, capable though they are of triumph over all the aridities of his subject-matter, more easily play around the discussion of antagonized systems than they lend themselves to the sterner task of constructing a philosophic edifice.

Seldom indeed has so distinguished a gift of imagery and word-selection been devoted to the service of abstract and difficult thought. One might find a parallel, perhaps, in Plato, in his less creative dialogues—the *Protagoras*, for example; hardly elsewhere. As for possession of English style by a writer of foreign extraction, the only author, we fancy, who might be adduced as a parallel would be Mr. Conrad.

Of critical and destructive ability the evidences are everywhere. In truth, few things or names in the world of philosophy escape damaging comment—with the exception of certain great names, which, when we look for them, we find with surprise to be entirely absent.

Of the various attacks made, most sweeping and possibly least discriminating is that directed (in *Scepticism and Animal Faith*) against British and German philosophy generally. "The whole of British and German philosophy is only literature . . . [For those philosophers] the universe is a novel of which the *ego* is the hero . . . The composition . . . may have . . . great dramatic interest and profundity. But not one term, one conclusion in it has the least scientific value." The author is able to stand to these guns of his: he is not talking mere impertinence. Still, such strictures come somewhat oddly from one who is himself intensely literary and who assigns to Poetry so large a place in the scheme of life. Not improbably some champion of the *massa damnata* will arise to retort the attack with telling effect.

Severe treatment is consistently meted out to sceptics who are inconsistent in their scepticism, and to pretenders to a "scientific" accuracy. Thus Berkeley (to take but one instance) is dismissed as "a partial sceptic, closing one eye in the interest of a sentimental religion."

The kindest comments of all, on the other hand, are reserved for Plato and the Indians. The critic values in them their detachment from phenomena and experience—whether external or internal—their cool largeness of spirit, contrasting with the hurried, interested, political, pragmatic character of Western thought.

All the same, their philosophy and religion are not his. Having got hold of a poetic vision which represents pretty much the truth of things, they set about to materialize it and dogmatize on it—misguidedly. They do so, Professor Santayana thinks, in the vast and shadowy edifices of dogma which we find looming through the myths of the Greek seer and the *maya* of the Oriental.

For the philosophy which the Catholic Church has made her own he shows a singular lack of intelligent appreciation. Aristotle, of course, comes in for some consideration, but the completion of his ideas by the Christian doctors of the Middle Ages seems scarcely to enter into Professor Santayana's field of vision. St. Thomas Aquinas is scarcely mentioned. Yet his *Summa Theologica* provides some quite apodictic replies to many of the Professor's leading difficulties and objections. A little patience and candour on his part—nothing more—would have made this plain to his perspicacity, —as regards, for example, the relations of God to His creation.

It is no easy task to indicate briefly what are the positive character and lines of this philosophy. What is that blend of "scepticism and animal faith" which will enable us to live the "life of reason"?

The scepticism goes far. It refuses to distinguish between the three realms (as we commonly distinguish them) of the actual, the possible and the illusory. Instead of an ontology which would so distinguish, we find speculations like the following :—

"Entertain the illusion without succumbing to it, accepting it openly as an illusion, and forbidding it to claim any sort of being but that which it obviously has; and then, whether it profits me or not, it will not deceive me. What will remain of this non-deceptive illusion will then be a truth . . . . . The error came from a wild belief about it; and the possibility of error came from a wild propensity to belief . . . . . Just as beautiful things would cease to be beautiful if you removed the wonder and the welcome of living souls, so, if you eliminate your anxiety, deceit itself becomes entertainment and every illusion but so much added acquaintance with the realm of form. For the unintelligible accident of existence will cease to appear to lurk in this manifest being, weighting it and crowding it and threatening it with being swallowed up by nondescript neighbours. It will appear dwelling in its own world [?] and shining by its own light, however brief may be my glimpse of it; for no date will be written on it, no frame of full or of empty time will shut it in; nothing in it will be addressed to me nor suggestive of any spectator. It will seem an event in no world ["its own world" of a moment ago ?], an incident

in no experience. The quality of it will have ceased to exist; it will be merely the quality which it inherently, logically and inalienably is. It will be an *Essence* . . . . There is, then, a sort of play with the non-existent, or game of thought, which intervenes in all alleged knowledge of matters of fact, and survives that knowledge, if this is ever questioned or disproved . . . To consider an essence is, from a spiritual point of view, to enlarge acquaintance with true being [the "essence" just described]; but it is not even to broach knowledge of fact (*Sc. and A. F.*, pp. 73–5). 'Naturally,' from such a datum it would not be easy to pass to a belief in anything; and if the leap was finally taken it would be confessedly at the instance of animal faith and in the direction of vulgar and materialistic convictions."

Among the illusions thus discussed and thus to be treated will come in Religion—Religion so far as it claims to be dogmatic and historical. As poetry, it finds its fitting place in our world. "Religion is not essentially an imposture. But when it dogmatizes it becomes fraudulent and intolerable—as well as intolerant. Christianity, coming over from Hebraism, was paganized by the early Church, and by this marriage with paganism Christianity fitted iself to live and work in the civilized world; it was thus immensely improved out of Hebraism, because its myths were more transparent and its temper less fanatical." As for Protestantism, it does not wholly represent this improvement. It is "simply the natural religion of the Teutons raising its head above the flood of Roman and Judean influences. It is attached to the Old Testament, in which Hebrew fervour first appears in its worldly and prerational form; it possesses, like the barbarian and the healthy child, pure but unchastened energies."

As there is no God in the universe, so there is no accounting for anything. The Professor does not develop this bit of logic, but in reality it pervades his entire work. In such a universe, to seek certitude is but to court delusion. Still, for practical purposes, and in the name at least of "animal faith," various things may be and are put forward to help us over the very awkward incoherence of things in general. The old "category of the ideal," in new garments, may be advanced provisionally to the throne of the Almighty; the "sense of beauty" may, as in Shaftesbury's days, be asked to look after our moral conduct; art, and especially poetry, are a good and even a desirable substitute for religion.

Complete scepticism being unworkable and professions of it being usually dishonest, it is necessary for every man to get hold of some set of beliefs, trusts and assertions; it is also necessary for every philosopher, if he will not find himself out of employment, to weld or blend them into some sort of system. For this purpose Professor Santayana elects to draw his materials from the brute facts, experiences—call them what you will—of life as each one

knows and feels it—from a plain, straightforward interrogation of those experiences; and the sort of practical equipment he thus gains he calls "animal faith." The claim of this helper of the Professor's to enter at all into a strictly philosophical analysis of life is obviously doubtful; at all events, its hoofs ought to be wiped very clean on entering. For, clearly, everyone else has an equal *prima facie* claim to turn his particular sets of experiences, or alleged experiences, loose into the philosophical paddock—with the same risk of summary expulsion. Alleged philosophies of "common sense" have got their dismissal ere now; nay, the Professor himself has wielded a whip on the trail of some.

But, turning from the question of its validity, the question arises —What is the practical value of the blend thus offered to us of transcendental scepticism and plain horse-sense? It cannot be said that these six volumes smile at us a very favourable reply; nor is the Professor himself very emphatic in his "eureka." In a passage of ingenious imagery (which we take the liberty of developing a little) he pictures humanity in general as a throng of people sitting in a darkened theatre, viewing a mysterious performance on a darkened stage. What is going on? Opinions, conjectures, differ widely. Some (like Fielding's Partridge) think that actual "real" conspiracies, love-makings and murders are proceeding before their eyes. Others (like the King in *Hamlet*) see a symbolical representation of "realities." Others, again, think they see merely feigned life—the invention of a dramatist's brain. While a fourth class suspect the whole thing to be a phantasmagoria—a nightmare of their own brains. Now, which party is right? Our Professor does not really profess to know. And he tries to persuade us that it does not matter.

"Let us," he says, in so many words or equivalently, "restrain the wild propensity to belief; abandon the desire to link appearances with facts; let us enter into the game of thought into which we have so unaccountably strayed, into the delusiveness of mind, matter and all the rest of it; and, behold, deceit itself becomes an entertainment, to elude being humbugged becomes 'as good as a play,' and (anyhow) such is the best entertainment we are likely to get."

This, then, is the tale of things according to this ingenious thinker and diligent writer. Was it worth while, many will ask, to write so many volumes to lead to conclusions so ironically negative, so unhelpful, nay, so repulsive to man's mind and heart and hopes? *Cur quis non prandeat, hoc est?* And then the question arises whether it is worth while to read them: momentous question from

a reviewing point of view! Well, doubtless we might be able to suggest many better ways of spending time. But it seems only fair to remark, in conclusion, that the world has often paid liberally for volumes of philosophy containing much less sense than these, and much worse written. G. O'N.

Religion

WESTERN MYSTICISM. By Dom Cuthbert Butler. London: Constable. 1922. 18*s.*

THE TRIUMPH OF LOVE. By Benedict Williamson. London: Kegan Paul. 1922. 10*s.* 6*d*

THE CONFESSIONS OF VENERABLE FATHER AUGUSTINE BAKER, O.S.B. Edited by Dom Justin McCann. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1922. 3*s.* 6*d.*

In *Western Mysticism* Dom Cuthbert Butler has given us a singularly valuable work. It is a very finished and scholarly study of the doctrine of three great mystics—St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great and St. Bernard. It is the fruit of twenty years' research work and is a model of its kind. We get a complete catena of all texts relating to mystical experience, admirably translated, with a highly intelligent and critical exposition of Dom Butler's own views. Students of mysticism, like the present reviewer, who have only a bowing acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers, will warmly welcome a volume so thoroughly Benedictine in its calm objective scholarship, which saves them hours of toil to verify some quotation and gives them access to all the references they require. Only those who have attempted to verify a quotation from (say) St. Augustine given in some manual without any exact reference can realise their present obligations to Dom Butler. He has made a very notable contribution to the study of the development of the science of the spiritual life in its highest aspects.

The early history of Catholic mysticism presents many difficulties to the student, for the great masters of the spiritual life among the Fathers did not attempt any systematic treatment of mystical experience (with the possible exception of St. Denis). Their doctrine on mysticism has to be painfully sifted out from their general teaching on prayer. They were not mystical theologians in the modern sense of the term. Hence the determination of their precise teaching needs a combination of skilled patrologist and mystical theologian, a very rare combination. In Dom Butler we find that higher critic in the best sense, a competent scholar with a true *flair* for the relevant text.

With Dom Butler's special and personal views the present reviewer finds himself in general but not total agreement. But divergence of opinion on non-essentials is natural. If we look at mystical experience in its totality, we will readily see, from the universal testimony of mystics, that only a small part of the whole experience is perceptible, and of what is perceived by the mystic only a very small part is recordable and communicable. The written records of mystical experience only give us the accidents of the experience, its substance being often hidden from the mystics themselves, and quite incommunicable where the experience is genuinely mystical. Now many of these accidental qualities of mystical experience differ but slightly, if at all, from the qualities of other psychic states. The Catholic apologist dealing with cases of ecstasy among the Saints is often obliged to show that the very obvious analogies with certain morbid states are no proof that ecstasy is a disease. There are psychic as well as physiological parallels, as we find when we compare the descriptions of ecstasy in Catholic mystics with similar descriptions as given by Plotinus, by Sufi and by Yoga writers. On these similarities non-Catholic writers base the theory that mystical experience is common to all religions alike. If we are not prepared to accept that view, we must recognise the inadequacy of these communicable and recordable accidents of genuine mystical experience to furnish a full criterion of the nature and degrees of the experience to which they belong. If we could judge *only* by the records of her experience, we would be obliged to class St. Jeanne Chantal as one who was only a beginner in the mystical way.

In the writings of the three great Fathers so well analysed by Dom Butler we find comparatively little stress laid on these "accidents of contemplation," these psycho-physical phenomena. Dom Butler seems to regard them as absent and to base on his authors' silence a sharp distinction between their type of mysticism and that of a later period. We cannot follow him here, though it is possible and even probable that what we have called the "recordable accidents" of mystical experience may have varied to a very large extent. We know that with some of the saints ecstasy took a deathlike form, with others, like St. Catherine of Siena, the ecstatic dictated her revelations, or like St. Joseph of Compertino displayed an enormous increase of physical strength. It may be that there was an absence of psycho-physical phenomena in the cases of St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Bernard, or it may be that they did not trouble to observe them, having other work to do for God. But we must not be taken as carping at Dom Butler's

views ; they are not only fresh and original, but worthy of very close attention and discussion.

In the *Triumph of Love*, Father Benedict Williamson has given us a volume dealing with the affective side of mysticism. In his previous work, *Supernatural Mysticism*, we got an excellent and edifying summary of the common doctrine of Catholic mystics ; he now develops his own point of view with a touching and fiery eloquence. We think, however, that some confusion exists in his thought between the type of mystical union which is essentially a grade of contemplation, the Fifth Mansion of St. Teresa, and that type of union which she describes as non-mystical. It would be easy, but most unfair, to burlesque Father Williamson's doctrine and say that he taught the " conversion " and " total sanctification " doctrines of the Salvation Army in its early days. One could make a parallel between certain statements of Father Williamson and passages from Harold Begbie's *Life of General Booth*. It seems to the present reviewer that, if we were to accept all Father Williamson's views, we should hold that all canonized saints had achieved the spiritual marriage in the mystical sense or else had to pass through Purgatory. Perhaps Father Williamson has been led to convert an A proposition simply. We are not entitled to infer from the proposition " All true mystics are true lovers of God " that " All true lovers of God are mystics." It is just this little note of exaggeration which has vexed us in a most edifying book. But it may be that we are quarrelling with shadows, and that Father Williamson uses the term " mystic " in a much broader sense than we would venture to do.

By the publication of the *Confessions of the Venerable Father Augustine Baker*, Dom Justin McCann has given us a most interesting and valuable mystical document. Readers of Father Baker's *Sancta Sophia* will be glad to have this brief volume to supplement the larger work, more especially as it is a record of Father Baker's own experience. To the psychologist it is also a document of very considerable interest. The type of active contemplation taught by Father Baker has many analogies with the " prayer of simplicity " of Father Poulain as well as with the lower degrees of mystical quietude. These borderland states have a peculiar interest for the psychologist, for they throw much light on the nature of mystical experience in the strict sense of that term. The Fifth Chapter of this booklet contains some curious details of Father Baker's exercises, very much akin to certain Yoga practices, as was pointed out by a correspondent to the present reviewer. The criticism is not without some justice. Father

Baker was somewhat of a valetudinarian and paid undue attention to his bodily symptoms. Possibly he was influenced by the doctrine of "vital spirits" and attributed more importance than was due to those vague coenesthesic impressions which accompany acts of profound concentration. JOHN HOWLEY.

THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVES. By Most Rev. Alexander Le Roy. Translated by Rev. Newton Thompson. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1923. 10*s*.

Mgr. Le Roy's *Religion des Primitifs* has long been familiar to students of Comparative Religion. But it was a happy inspiration on the part of the translator and publishers to render it accessible to a still wider circle of readers. Few books on the subject deserve to be better known. It is an admirable corrective to the numerous works which, while professing above all things to be scientific, sin against every rule of scientific research. Hag-ridden by their theory of evolution most of the so-called authorities on Comparative Religion approach the study of religious beliefs and practices among the *races arriérées* with the design of finding confirmation for their theory, not of sounding the real mentality of these peoples on the important but very delicate and complicated question of religion.

Mgr. Le Roy sets himself first the task of discovering what in point of fact the primitives believe and feel and do, and then the task of drawing temperately such conclusions as seem to flow from the facts observed. There can be no question as to which is the proper method, if one is out for truth and not for fanciful hypotheses. Our author is peculiarly qualified for his task. Unlike many others who write confidently about the so-called primitives without ever having seen one of them, he has spent twenty years of missionary activity among them. A book by such an author could hardly fail to be of great value, however faultily compiled. But in point of fact it is excellently written and is perhaps the safest guide we possess to the mind of the primitives on religious matters.

This English version should consequently meet with a favourable reception. The translator has done his work very well on the whole. Occasionally he does not escape the pitfalls of the path. We doubt if 'ensemble' has yet the right of city in the English tongue, as he seems to suppose. And here and there his English smacks too much of the French idiom. But these slips are rare

and spring from the laudable aim of strict fidelity to the original. The paper, printing, binding and editing leave little to be desired. Although the price is high compared with pre-war standards, it is not above the value of the book in these days of depreciated currency. We do not think it should prevent this valuable work from reaching the wider public for whom it is intended and to whom it will prove a useful antidote to Sir J. G. Frazer's abridged edition of *The Golden Bough*.

P. J. Gannon.

DIE VERFASSUNG DER URKIRCHE. Dargestellt auf Grund der Paulusbriefe und der Apostelgeschichte von Hermann Dieckmann, S.J. Berlin: Verlag der Germania. 1923.

The theme of this latest work of Father Dieckmann is an inquiry into the Constitution of the primitive Church as outlined in the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. We are led back to the very earliest sources on the Church of Christ as planned by His first followers in obedience to His mind. The chief sections of the book are taken up with the first forms of the Christian society, ἐκκλησία—its characteristics of visibility, unity in faith and religious consciousness, and the nature of its constitutional forms. A special section is devoted to the primacy—the *locus classicus* (Matt. xvi. 16) being examined in detail. Further chapters deal with the local Churches, the position occupied in them by the Apostles and their delegates Timothy and Titus, and the relation of these local communities to the Church universal. An introductory chapter is devoted to an exposition of the hierarchic character of the Church ministry as against the democratic theory of modern Rationalists or the charismatic of Professor Sohm—a *réchauffé* this of the Lutheran theory of an invisible Church.

Throughout the book one catches glimpses of the bold structural outlines of the Catholic Church such as it is to-day after twenty centuries—that religious Society which claims to be the only infallible exponent of Christ's mind and the sole authentic embodiment of His work. To-day more than ever before this Society stands forth in the mind of the thinking man as the only bulwark against complete infidelity. It is consequently of eternal import to the truth-seeker to examine conscientiously the credentials of that Church before lending an ear to new cries of "lo here! lo there!" Father Dieckmann deserves well of all who take these big things seriously.

J. J. C.

TRACTATUS DE DEO CREATORE ET DE NOVISSIMIS. Auctore Joanne Muncunill, S.J. Barcelona : Libreria Religiosa. 1922.

In the introduction to his *De Deo Uno et Trino* Pater Muncunill wrote : *Cum ea omnia, quae in Theologia Fundamentali disceptari soleant, iam pertractaverim, ad ceteros Theologiae tractatus mihi progrediendum est, ut, si Deus concedat, universam Theologiam attingere possim.* "To attain all theology" is no mean ambition for an author to-day ; it pre-supposes a very capacious head and a stout heart. There are those who consider it a foolish attempt. In his edition of the *De Hypostasi* of Tiphanus Père C. M. Jovène, S.J., pleads for what he calls the *lex partiti laboris*, and bemoans that many capable theologians remain in the ranks of mediocrity because they neglect this rule. He would have students set before themselves the example of Tiphanus, Molina, De Lugo, Melchior Cano, Lessius, and Andreas Vega, rather than that of those numerous compilers of complete courses, who necessarily lose in intensity what they gain in extension, and usually confine themselves to transcribing their predecessors. Pater Muncunill seems unmoved by the argument. This is the sixth volume he has published in his brave undertaking, and one can only hope that God will concede him the time and health to carry it to a conclusion. For, though there is a good deal to be said in favour of Père Jovène's warning, an up-to-date *cursus theologicus* is always needed, even if it does not inscribe its author's name among the immortals.

This volume resembles the five preceding ones in form, type, and method. It has the same qualities of solidity, clearness and order. Sensational it cannot be called, but as a class text-book it should prove excellent. It treats of creation in general, conservation and the divine concursus, *de ente supernaturali* (in 14 pages—Shade of Ripalda !), the angels good and bad (in 104 pages), the creation of man, elevation and fall, original sin, death and the particular judgment, Purgatory, Hell, Heaven and the end of the world—a goodly array of questions which, with two indices, explains the proportions of the book—711 pages. The author is always a safe, conservative guide, and a loyal Suaresian as befits a Jesuit and a Spaniard. But, of course, this does not mean that St. Thomas is slighted or ignored, to whom we can apply the distich composed about the Bible :

Hic liber est in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque,
Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

P. J. Gannon.

Scripture

PSALTERIUM JUXTA HEBRAEOS HIERONYMI. Edited with Introduction and Apparatus Criticus by J. M. Harden, B.D., LL.D. London : S.P.C.K. 1922. 10*s.* net.

St. Jerome, as is well known, left us two revisions after the Septuagint of the Old Latin Version of the Psalms, the so-called Roman and Gallican Psalters, and besides these, a direct version of the Psalms from the Hebrew. Of the last-mentioned work, which unfortunately never supplanted the Gallican Psalter in the Vulgate, we have several editions, all more or less imperfect. De Lagarde's, published in 1874, is the best of these, and is sometimes cited as if it contained the last word on the determination of the original text. Yet De Lagarde utilised a moderate number of ancient manuscripts and disregarded, or was unacquainted with, some of the highest importance. Hence the need of a new edition, based on a more extended collation of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts. This is the work Dr. Harden has taken in hand and, on the whole, not unsuccessfully accomplished.

The new edition of the " Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi " is a considerable improvement on De Lagarde's, and is undoubtedly the best edition of St. Jerome's work so far published ; but Dr. Harden himself would be the last to claim for it anything like finality in the reconstitution of the original text. While he has the merit of setting forth for the first time the evidence of some important manuscripts in the British Museum, he has been unable, for reasons independent of his control, to consult and utilise two codices of the highest importance, the Theodulfianus and the Amiatinus. The want of the former has been supplied by the utilisation of some other codices of the same family, containing presumably a similar text. In the case of the latter, the Ricemarsh manuscript of Trinity College, which is closely akin, and the inadequate and often inaccurate reconstitution of the Amiatinus by Nestle from the annotations of Tischendorf have been called upon. These substitutes go a long way in supplying for the originals, but cannot be considered entirely satisfactory for the purposes of textual criticism. The eighth century Psalter, Reginensis 11, in the Vatican Library, which contains the most ancient manuscript of St. Jerome's Hebrew version known to scholars, is a still more regrettable omission.

The text, which forms the main part of the book, is not that of a single manuscript or family of manuscripts, but is compiled, according to the best canons of textual criticism judiciously applied,

from all the manuscripts available. At the foot of each page is the critical apparatus, containing all the variant readings of any importance. Of the two possible main sources of error for the scribes, an assimilation of the Hebrew Psalter to the more familiar Gallican one and a correction of the same after the original Hebrew text, Dr. Harden is undoubtedly right in maintaining that the former is far more likely than the latter to have introduced corruptions into the text. But he goes too far when he says: "It seems scarcely likely that scribes in the ninth and tenth centuries would have much knowledge of variations from the original." The learned Benedictine, Dom de Bruyne, is indeed of the same opinion, for, contending that Psalm 29, 8 should be corrected after the manuscripts E H, which alone render some words of the Hebrew text elsewhere omitted, he thus expresses himself: "Leur présence dans E H ne s'explique pas, je pense, par l'intervention d'un correcteur hébraisant du Moyen-Age, ces corrections selon l'hébreu sont extrêmement improbables et les deux MSS. en question n'en donnent aucun indice."[1] But a hasty inspection of the critical apparatus of nine psalms (29–37) as compared with the Hebrew text revealed to the reviewer nine clear instances in which the two manuscripts E H agree with the Hebrew text against all the other manuscripts. They reproduce omitted passages or words: "parturire faciet Dominus desertum (29, 8)," "et eripiet eos et salvabit eos (37, 40)," "mihi (30,11)," "tua (31, 20)." They have the Hebrew singular "oculus" instead of the plural "oculi" (33, 18), and the Hebrew plural 'dies" instead of the singular "diem (37, 18)." They render with a closer eye to the Hebrew "culpabuntur" for "superabuntur (34, 22)," "Deus" for "Dominus (36, 8)," and "ad tempus quo invenieris" for "tempus inveniens (32, 6)."

These instances in nine psalms, taken at random, could be many times multiplied in the whole Psalter, and, as it is very improbable that these two manuscripts alone preserved the original reading in all these cases, it appears that the earliest of them H, or their still earlier common source, was corrected after the Hebrew. Now H belongs to the ninth century, and it is extremely interesting to find at least one scribe of these "Dark Ages" with a good knowledge of the Hebrew tongue and a keen interest in textual criticism. It is a little surprising that Dr. Harden, who was the first to publish the readings of these two British Museum manuscripts, did not notice this curious fact. He is wiser however than Dom de Bruyne

[1] *Revue Benédictine* xxxiv. 4 (Octobre, 1922), p. [48].

in not admitting any of their isolated readings into his critical text.

We warmly recommend Dr. Harden's work as the best edition so far published of the Hebrew Psalter of St. Jerome. It will render good service in the absence of a still more exact reproduction of the original text, which we confidently expect in the near future from the learned Benedictine revisors of the Vulgate. E.P

FIRST NOTIONS OF HOLY WRIT FOR STUDENTS, READERS, ENQUIRERS. By Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. London: Longmans. 1923. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. TRANSLATION AND BRIEF COMMENTARY. By Rev. P. Boylan, M.A. Dublin: Gill. 1922. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. By Madame Cecilia. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1923. 10*s.*

THE GOSPELS: FACT, MYTH, OR LEGEND? By J. P. Arendzen. With foreword by His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet. London: Sands. 1923. 3*s* 6*d.*

HERMENEUTICA BIBLICA. Scripsit Franciscus Xav. Kortleitner, Ord. Praem. Innsbruck: Felician Rauch. 1923.

It is gratifying to note the excellent Catholic works on the Scriptures that have appeared of late. In the last issue of Studies attention was called to a number of such works, and now another batch lies before us. These are for the most part popular in scope, that is, intended rather for the general public than for scholars and specialists, Father Lattey's little book is of the nature of "First Aid." It is an introduction to Scripture studies for those new to the subject, written by an expert, but not in technical language. Into the short space of 108 pages the writer has contrived to condense a great deal of very helpful information. He first considers the correct Catholic attitude towards scriptural studies in view of the Church's control of them. Then he explains clearly the Catholic doctrine of inspiration, the manner in which the text of the Bible has come down to us and our present possession of it in its integrity, the value and authority of the Church's official Latin version, the question of the literary form in which the various writings in the Bible are composed. All these are matters of which, we venture to say, no educated Catholic ought to be ignorant. The little work might possibly have been made more entertaining: it could scarcely be more substantial nor more lucid.

Dr. Boylan's annotated translation of the Epistle to Hebrews, composed and indeed printed primarily for his pupils at Maynooth,

is also a great boon to the general public, for it provides us with a version which, we do not hesitate to say, is a great improvement on the current Doway translation. Of this improvement the following may be taken as samples :—

Doway.	New Version.
Ch. I. v. 3. Who being the brightness of his glory, and the figure of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, making purgation of sins, sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high.	He being the flashing forth of His glory, and the very expression of His being, sustaineth all things by His (God's) word of power : and having achieved Purification from sin, hath taken His seat at the right hand of Majesty on high, having attained a rank as much superior to the angels as the name which he hath inherited surpasseth them.
Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they.	

Again ch. II, v. 18, which in the Doway Version runs :—" For in that, wherein he himself hath suffered and been tempted, he is able to succour them also that are tempted," is thus translated by Dr. Boylan : " For because He hath suffered, being tempted Himself thereby, He can give help to those who are tempted."

Once more, in Dr Boylan's translation the first verse of chapter VI runs as follows : " We will then put aside the first principles of Christian teaching, and press on to perfection, not laying again a foundation of repentance from dead works, and of belief in God, of the doctrine of baptisms, of the laying on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment." This is clearer than the Doway version, yet we think it might be improved by various slight changes, for instance, by writing " leave behind the elementary principles " for " put aside the first principles," and " over again " for " again." But this new translation is both accurate and readable, and we are glad to learn that it is to form part of the Westminster Version. The notes, which are truly explanatory, clear, and never bristling with references nor overburdened with erudition, merit likewise for Dr. Boylan the thanks of the Catholic public.

Madame Cecilia has done a very good work in writing her new commentary on St John's Gospel, following on her editions of St. Matthew and of the Acts of the Apostles in the now well-known " Catholic Scripture Manuals " Series. This new work is in every respect a model Scripture Manual. It is not and does not claim to be a work of original research ; but it is drawn from the best sources and, whether in the excellent introduction or in the notes, also excellent, leaves untouched no problem or question connected with this gospel, except those expressly reserved for a future volume. It is moreover equipped with every help for the student—synopsis,

analysis, clearly arranged divisions, useful appendices, alphabetical index. Only the bibliography is defective. The book is a most valuable help to the Catholic study of Scripture. The author promises us a further volume on St. John, *The Credentials of St. John's Gospel*, which will deal with questions of Historicity, Authenticity, and Integrity.

Dr. Arendzen's book on the Gospels brings together a set of articles contributed by him to various Catholic periodicals. There is first a series of chapters dealing with the credibility of the Gospels, those on St. John being particularly good. The second part consists of studies on New Testament times—the World into which Christ was born, our Lord's Ancestry, the Virgin Mother, the Magi, Pilate, Caiphas, Herod, and the Resurrection. This is much more than a little text-book on apologetics rehearsing the stock objections and the familiar answers. The treatment is firsthand and fresh, and though the author avoids technicalities and does not overweight his pages with erudition (there is not a footnote from start to finish), wide reading and thorough grasp of the subject are manifest throughout. The style is vigorous, trenchant, never dull, and there are telling illustrations drawn from modern life.

The last work on our list is intended mainly for students in ecclesiastical seminaries. It is an exposition of the principles of scriptural interpretation together with a historical retrospect of the manner in which these principles have in the past been understood—or misunderstood, and applied. It is not so ample as Szekely nor quite so clear and well-arranged as Chauvin, but it is abreast of recent literature, and its bibliography is excellent. Nor is Father Kortleitner content with mere compilation from his numerous predecessors.[1] His treatise is not an echo nor a series of echoes but an original work We have put it to the test of use for class purposes and have no doubt that it will render good service.

S. J. B.

LE MILIEU BIBLIQUE AVANT JESUS CHRIST: I. Histoire et Civilisation. Par Charles-F. Jean Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1922.

SUMER ET AKKAD. Par Charles-F. Jean. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1923.

THE first volume of *Le Milieu biblique* gives an outline of the political and social history of the various peoples that came into contact with the Israelites up to the time of our Lord. A second

[1] *e.g.* Zapletal (1897), Kohlgruber, Ranolder, Griwnacky (1911), Föller (3rd ed. 1914), Janssens (26th ed. by Morandi, 1922).

volume is to be devoted to the literatures and a third to the religions of these same peoples.

In the volume before us M. Jean passes in review the history of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Elamites, Egyptians, Canaanites, Hittites, Cretans, Philistines, Moabites, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans. He anticipates criticism on the ground that too much space is given to the two last nations. Though he tries to disarm criticism beforehand, we cannot help thinking that the early history of Greece and Rome is somewhat irrelevant to the subject in hand. It would have been quite sufficient to take up the history of these peoples at the point at which they entered into the *milieu biblique—i.e.*, when they came into contact with the Israelites.

The historical facts collected by M. Jean throw light on numerous passages of the Bible and supplement the narratives of the sacred writers. Thus we are told in *Genesis* that Abraham with Terah, his father, and Lot, his brother, went forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Until quite recent times practically nothing was known about Ur except its grographical position. Thanks to modern discoveries, M. Jean is able to give a very detailed account of the political and social organisation of Ur in the third millennium B.C. Among other things, he points out that a very perfect system of book-keeping was in use in Ur at that period. In a footnote he gives, in the Sumerian language, the technical terms used by accountants in Ur even before the age of Abraham.

The author is not concerned directly with the interpretation of Scripture. In a few cases he suggests how the new discoveries may be made to furnish answers to old difficulties. These suggestions are invariably very helpful and very conservative. The book may be recommended without reserve to students of Scripture.

In *Sumer et Akkad* M. Jean publishes 224 cuneiform tablets dating from the 24th to the 21st century B.C. He has made careful drawings of the tablets, copying every sign that is legible and indicating where a tablet is worn or broken. In addition he gives a summary of the contents of each tablet, completely translating and even transliterating some of them. Without commentary these tablets are not very instructive to the uninitiated reader. The work will appeal chiefly to a small circle of specialists.

P. Bartley.

Books also received:

Airtrieide, E. ni	... Criostóir Naomhtha. (Gill, 1/6).
Allies, Thomas W.	... St. Peter. His Name and his Office. (Burns, O. W., 7/6).
Bampton, Father	... Christianity and Reconstruction. (Sands, 3/6).
Boland, Joseph	... Of Mass. (Burns, O. W., 4/-).
Choupin, Lucien	... Nature et Obligations de l'Etat religieux. (Beauchesne, 14 fr.)
Cooper, John M.	... Birth Control. (Washington: N.C.W.C.

CORNFORD, F. M. ... Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander. (Dent, 5/-).

COUSINS, JAMES ... The New Japan. (Madras: Ganesh, 6/-).

DARIO, J. M. ... ... Praelectiones Cosmologiae. (Beauchesne, 24 fr.).

DESCOSTES, JEAN ... La Lumière intérieure. ("Editions Spes," 6 fr.).

DUCHAUSSOIS, P. ... Mid Snow and Ice. The Apostles of the North West. (Burns, O. W., 10/6).

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HEUVEL, J. VAN DEN ... The Statesmanship of Benedict XV. (Burns, O. W., 6d.)

HULL, ERNEST R. ... Why should I be Moral? (Bombay: Examiner Press, 12 annas)

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LAISTNER, M. L. W. ... Greek Economics. (Dent, 5/-).

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MOCQUEREAU, DOM A. ... Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican, publiés en fac-similes phototypiques. No. III., Oct., 1923. (Desclée, 75 fr. par an).

MONTGOMERY, MARSHALL Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement. (Milford, 10/6).

MURPHY, DESMOND ... Thoughts Speculative. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

O CIONNFHAOLA, M. ... Fionn agus a Chuideachta. (Comhlucht Oideachais, 1/3).

O'DANIEL, VICTOR ... An American Apostle: Matthew A. O'Brien, O.P. (Washington: Dominicana Press, $3).

O'GRADY, STANDISH ... The Chain of Gold. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

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Debate on the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland. Official Report. (Talbot Press, 6/-).

Archives de Philosophie. Cahier I.; Etudes d'histoire de la philosophie. Cahier II: Problème critique fondamental. (Beauchesne, 8 fr. et 7 fr. 50.)

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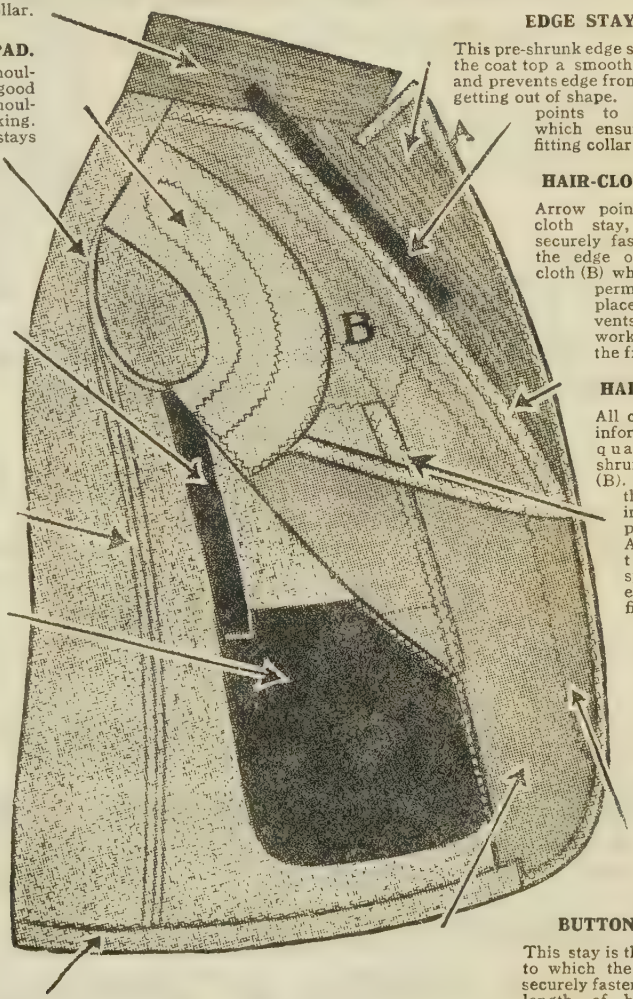

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